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THE EVOLUTION OF HISTORY: CHANGING NARRATIVES OF THE MOUNTAIN
MEADOWS MASSACRE IN UTAH'S PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULA

by

Casey W. Olson

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Education

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2013
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ABSTRACT

The Evolution of History: Changing Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre
in Utah's Public School Curricula

by

Casey W. Olson, Doctor of Philosophy

Utah State University, 2013

Major Professor: Dr. Steven P. Camicia
Department: Teacher Education and Leadership

The Mountain Meadows Massacre is widely considered to be the most violent and controversial event in Utah's history. This qualitative study investigates how the massacre has been portrayed to Utah's schoolchildren through the state's history and social studies curricula, and why curricular narratives of the massacre have changed with time. The study presents a content analysis documenting changes in curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre from the years 1908-2011. The content analysis also compares these narratives with four concurrent sources providing narratives of the massacre: (a) public monuments commemorating the massacre, (b) curricular narratives published by Utah's dominant religious and cultural institution—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon Church), (c) Paiute Indian narratives of the massacre, and (d) scholarly histories. Using a continuum of Mormon/Paiute culpability as a frame of reference, this research employs literatures from the theory of ideology in

curriculum, multicultural education theory, postcolonial theory, and Mormon historiography to provide critical analysis of changes in narratives of the massacre. Data drawn from this analysis are used to answer the following question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula? The response to this question provides a basis for discussing and understanding the relationship between hegemony and curriculum in Utah society.

(294 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

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The Mountain Meadows Massacre is widely considered to be the most violent and controversial event in Utah's history. This qualitative study investigates how the massacre has been portrayed to Utah's schoolchildren through the state's history and social studies curricula, and why curricular narratives of the massacre have changed with time. The study documents changes in curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre from the years 1908-2011. It also compares these narratives with four concurrent sources providing narratives of the massacre: (a) public monuments commemorating the massacre, (b) curricular narratives published by Utah's dominant religious and cultural institution—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon Church), (c) Paiute Indian narratives of the massacre, and (d) scholarly histories. Analysis of these texts provides answers to the following question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula?

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To my children—Claire, Emma, Luke, Mae, Pearl, Marybelle, and Lincoln—I also offer my thanks as well as my hope that you may learn from the errors of the past, “that ye may learn to be more wise than we have been” (Mormon 9:31).

Casey W. Olson

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The textbooks and other curricula used in public schools are not neutral (Eisner, 2002). Rather, they reflect the values of the individuals and groups who produce and promote them (Apple, 1979; Schiro, 2008). This is particularly evident in history and social studies curricula, which often perpetuate values and ideologies through stories or narratives (Stanley, 2010). Although textbook narratives typically assume a privileged status as the “official” version of historical events (Apple, 2000), narratives by definition are subjective. They reflect the perspectives—and often the interests—of those who construct them (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Frequently, they may also omit details and perspectives valued by those who disagree with the “official” history or interpretation of a given event (Banks, 2002; Barton & Levstik, 2004). Public school curricula may be especially prone to these tendencies when treating controversial subject matter (Nash et al., 1997; Schiro, 2008). In Utah’s history and social studies curricula, some of the clearest illustrations of the relationship between history and ideology occur in narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre in Curricular Narratives

In September 1857, approximately 137 emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri were ambushed while traveling to California. Following a 5-day siege, all but 17 children in the company were murdered. The massacre happened in the southwest corner of the territory of Utah at a place known as the Mountain Meadows. Because of the large

number of people killed and the brutal violence involved, the Mountain Meadows Massacre ranks among the bloodiest events in the history of the American West (Lawrence & Lawrence, 2011).

Since 1908, when the first textbook on Utah history was published (Whitney, 1908), numerous Utah social studies and history curricula have addressed the Mountain Meadows Massacre and provided narratives of what occurred. Many of these curricula were produced as textbooks for Utah's seventh grade students, who are required to take a course on the state's history. However, a comparison of these texts reveals that Utah's social studies and history curricula have varied significantly over time in their narratives of this event. They particularly differ in their explanations of who instigated and committed the massacre—White Mormon pioneers and/or Paiute Indians. This study does not attempt to construct a fresh or newly insightful narrative of the massacre. Rather, it documents changes in how the massacre has been portrayed over time to Utah's schoolchildren. In addition to noting differences in the “official” textbook accounts of the massacre, this study provides analysis of these differences and the possible causes for them in order to answer the following question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula?

The remainder of this chapter provides background information regarding the Mountain Meadows Massacre. It discusses the terms *Mormons* and *Paiutes* and describes the relationship between these two peoples in southern Utah during the 1850s. Next, it presents an overview of conflict and violence in early Mormon history in order to lay out

the larger historical context in which the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred. It also describes the emigrant victims who were attacked at Mountain Meadows and the legal aftermath of the massacre. Finally, this chapter describes the problematic nature of source materials on the massacre and explains the challenges historians and curriculum writers have faced in constructing narratives of the massacre.

Building on this background information, Chapter II discusses in depth the research problem addressed in this study and the questions it seeks to answer. It also presents the four literatures contributing to the theoretical framework this study employs to analyze narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. These literatures include a theory of ideology in curriculum, multicultural education theory, postcolonial theory, and Mormon historiography. Chapter II explains the research design and methodology employed in this study as well as the data sources it draws upon. These include: (a) Utah public school curricula, (b) narratives inscribed on public monuments at the massacre site, (c) The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) curricula, (d) Paiute Indian narratives of the massacre, and (e) historical scholarship. In Chapters IV-VI, I describe, analyze, and interpret the data obtained from the sources mentioned above. Finally, I present my findings, their significance, and the conclusion to this study in Chapter VII.

Mormons and Paiutes

Textbook accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre assert that Mormons, Paiutes, or a combination of individuals from the two groups instigated and carried out

the massacre. Throughout this study, the terms *Mormon*, *Latter-day Saint*, and *LDS* are used in reference to membership in or association with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which maintains headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah. This institution was primarily responsible for the Western colonization of the Great Basin region of the U.S. beginning in 1847. In terms of ethnicity, membership in the LDS Church during the 1850s was almost exclusively White. Most Mormons at that time had originated from New England or Ohio, or had emigrated to the U.S. from the British Isles after being converted by Mormon missionaries (May, 1992).

The terms *Paiute Indians* and *Paiutes* are used in this study to refer to the indigenous peoples who in the 1850s inhabited the region of southern Utah near the Mountain Meadows. At that time, Paiute peoples also existed in parts of present-day Arizona, Nevada, and California. Paiutes are more accurately characterized as a heterogeneous population rather than a monolithic community or tribe. While Paiutes of the mid-19th century shared a common language, they lived in independent groups typically comprised of three to five families, and subsisted through a nomadic lifestyle largely based on gathering seasonal foods (Knack, 2001; Tom & Holt, 2000).

Prior to 1851, Paiute interaction with Anglo-Europeans had been limited to intermittent encounters with explorers, trappers, and traders who passed through Paiute territory while following the Old Spanish Trail to California (Tom & Holt, 2000). A Paiute tribal history described the effects of these encounters.

The Spanish settlement of the American Southwest brought disruption and violence to the Southern Paiutes. Most importantly, the Spanish introduced the violent slave trade to Great Basin Indians. Because the Paiutes did not adopt the horse as a means of transportation, their communities were frequently raided for

slaves by neighboring equestrian tribes, New Mexicans, and, eventually, Americans. Slave trafficking of Paiutes increased after the opening of the Old Spanish Trail, a trade route that connected New Mexico with the Pacific Ocean. The demand was highest for children, especially girls. (“We Shall Remain,” 2009)

Unlike the transient populace moving across the Old Spanish Trail, Mormons eyed Paiute homelands with the intention of building permanent communities. However, in contrast to many other American colonizers, Mormons desired to share the lands with Indians rather than utterly displace or exterminate them (Blackhawk, 2008; Turner, 2012). Mormons first arrived in Paiute territory in 1851 and founded the settlements of Parowan and Cedar City in southern Utah. Like every other colonization plan effected by Mormons in the Great Basin, these settlements were established under the direction of Brigham Young (Turner, 2012). As president of the LDS Church, Young was the principal ecclesiastical and spiritual leader of the Mormon people. He also held the federally appointed positions of governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the territory of Utah.

In 1853, a Mormon missionary named Jacob Hamblin traveled further south to Santa Clara to establish the Southern Indian Mission (Hamblin, 1995). A year later, 25 additional Mormon missionaries arrived in southern Utah with a mandate from Brigham Young to dwell among and cultivate relationships with the Indians. That same year, Young sent John D. Lee to establish Fort Harmony, 50 miles south of Cedar City, and to build up permanent Mormon settlements. By 1856, Young had also appointed Lee as an Indian agent of the U.S. government in the area comprising Iron County—the same region where Hamblin and the other Mormon missionaries resided and labored among southern Utah Indians. Lee was commissioned to teach farming techniques to the Indians

(Brooks, 1985).

To distinguish Mormons from the stream of Anglo-European emigrants traveling to California, Paiutes called them *Mormonees* and termed the others *Mericats*, or Americans (Knack, 2001). Paiutes came to see Mormons as potential allies against their traditional enemies—the Ute Indians who lived to the north and had greater access to European technologies, weapons, and supplies prior to the Mormons' arrival in the Great Basin (Alley, 1982). Consequently, Paiutes readily accepted the gifts Mormons offered to procure their goodwill (Lee, 1983; Mauss, 2003). These gifts included food, clothing, farming supplies, tobacco, livestock, weapons, and ammunition (Lee, 1983). In turn, Mormon settlers gradually usurped lands and resources, causing Paiutes to become increasingly dependent on Mormon generosity for their livelihood (Holt, 1992).

In addition to providing gifts, Mormons forged relationships with Paiutes by adopting or purchasing their children. Mauss (2003) explained how Latter-day Saints became involved in this practice: “Mormon leaders reasoned that Indian children bought by Mormon families would be removed from the slave trade and could be brought up as civilized Mormons” (p. 60). During the mid-1850s, severe food shortages prompted many Paiutes to sell their children to Mormon settlers who had the resources to feed them (Holt, 1992). The journals and other records of Mormon pioneers indicate they felt genuine compassion for Paiute children and viewed adoption as an opportunity to assist and educate them (Brooks, 1944, 1985; Hamblin, 1995; Lee, 1983).

Another key aspect of Mormon/Paiute relations stemmed from the efforts of LDS missionaries to proselytize and convert the Indians. Shortly after Brigham Young sent 25

men in the spring of 1854 to labor among the Paiutes, he traveled southward and instructed the missionaries at the home of John D. Lee. A portion of his message, included below, conveys the methods he encouraged missionaries to employ in order to gain influence with Paiutes.

You are not to farm, to build nice houses and fence fine fields, not to help white men, but to save red ones. Learn their language, and this you can do more effectively by living among them as well as by writing out a list of words. Go with them were they go. Live with them, and when they rest let them live with you; feed them, clothe them, and teach them as you can, and thus being with them all the time, you will soon be able to teach them in their own language. They are our brethren; we must seek after them, commit their language, get their understanding, and when they go off in parties, you go with them. (Brooks, 1985, p. 180)

In spite of the missionaries' efforts, the mass conversions and attendant religious, cultural, and social changes they expected to see among the Paiutes were largely elusive (Mauss, 2003). From the Paiute perspective, the alliance formed with the Mormons temporarily helped the Paiutes to deal successfully with threats from other Indians and the growing number of non-Mormon emigrants and colonizers who passed through their territory on the way to California (Tom & Holt, 2000). In addition, Brigham Young orchestrated an end to the slave trade in Utah territory (Jones, 1890). However, the relationship between Mormons and Paiutes also produced a number of devastating consequences, particularly for the latter group. First, many historians agree that members from the two groups perpetrated the Mountain Meadows Massacre (Bagley, 2002a; Brooks, 1950; Tom & Holt, 2000; Turner, 2012; Walker, Turley, & Leonard, 2008). Moreover, in the years following the atrocity, the growing number of Mormon settlements in southern Utah resulted in various challenges for the Paiutes. The expansion

of farms and ranches impacted Paiute food supplies, particularly as livestock consumed the seeds and pine nuts which had traditionally constituted a significant portion of the Paiutes' diet. Weakened by malnutrition, Paiutes in the 1860s were particularly susceptible to the diseases they encountered through contact with Mormons and other White settlers. Tom and Holt (2000) have estimated that "some Paiute groups during this time experienced more than a 90 percent drop in population" (p. 131). By the 1870s, some Paiute groups had ceased to exist, and those which survived had become destitute (Tom & Holt, 2000).

Conflict and Violence in Early Mormon History

Prior to their colonization of the territory of Utah, members of LDS church experienced years of turmoil and violence. Joseph Smith founded the LDS Church in Fayette township, New York in 1830 after having published *The Book of Mormon*—a volume of scripture which his followers revered with the Bible, and for which they came to be known as Mormons. From the beginning, Mormons experienced persecution for their religious beliefs, including Joseph Smith's claim to revelation and other prophetic gifts (Bushman, 2005). In 1831, the main body of Mormons migrated westward and established headquarters in Kirtland, Ohio. As their numbers grew, hundreds of Mormons thereafter traveled to Independence, Missouri, where they planned to build a community they would call Zion. However, in succeeding years Mormons in Ohio and Missouri increasingly clashed with their neighbors who did not share their beliefs, objected to their cooperative economic practices, and opposed their growing political

power—particularly the Mormons’ practice of bloc voting (Backman, 1983; LeSueur, 1987). Viewing Latter-day Saints as a threat to their localized control of social and political conditions, non-Mormons organized to expel Mormons from their communities (Lund, 2012).

After Mormons were violently driven from Independence and the surrounding region in Jackson County, Missouri in 1833, they created new settlements to the north. They were later joined in Far West, Missouri by Joseph Smith and other Mormons who fled Ohio. As conflict continued to flare in Missouri, Mormons lost faith in local and state officials who not only ignored petitions to aid them in the defense of life and property, but in some cases sanctioned militia attacks or mob violence against them (Bushman, 2005). Disillusioned by the inefficacy of passive resistance, Mormons formed militia units within their communities in the summer of 1838 (LeSueur, 1987; Walker, 1992). Additionally, some Mormons formed a secret vigilante group, the Danites, with the intention of taking action against persons whom they considered to be enemies of the LDS Church (Bushman, 2005). Mistrust and animosity between Mormons and their neighbors resulted in escalated violence. On October 27, 1838, the governor of Missouri ordered all Mormons in Missouri, approximately 12,000 in number, to be forcibly removed from the state. Three days later Missouri militiamen attacked a Latter-day Saint settlement called Haun’s Mill (also spelled Hawn; Baugh, 2010). The militia killed 17 Mormon men and boys and viciously mutilated some of the corpses. They also injured another 13 individuals, assaulted women, and plundered the Mormons’ belongings.

Mormons took refuge in Illinois and founded the city of Nauvoo. After

experiencing the hazards of being a religious and political minority on the American frontier, Mormons looked to consolidate government and military power within their new community to secure the constitutional rights they were deprived in Missouri (J. Smith, 1978). These efforts were also informed by the Mormons' belief that they were destined to establish a literal kingdom of God on earth (Hansen, 1967). In Nauvoo, Mormons controlled the city council, elected Church leaders John C. Bennett and later Joseph Smith as mayor, and assembled the Nauvoo Legion, an "army of several thousand well-trained soldiers [which] was seen as a necessary 'mantle of protection'" (Walker, 1992, p. 269). Yet this concentration of power in the hands of the Mormon hierarchy, coupled with news that Joseph Smith and leading men of the LDS Church were advocating and practicing polygamy, only incited further opposition against the church (Oaks & Hill, 1975). In 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were arrested and transported away from the safety of Nauvoo to a jail in Carthage, Illinois, where they were murdered by a mob.

Brigham Young succeeded Joseph Smith as the president and prophet of the LDS Church. While Young encouraged the Mormons to refrain from retaliation against those who might be responsible for the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, he encouraged church members to pray that God would avenge the blood of the prophets (Oaks & Hill, 1975). Young also added a statement to this effect to the sacred religious rite Mormons performed in their temple at Nauvoo, and later in their temples in Utah (Buerger, 1987). To escape threats of further mob violence against them, thousands of Mormons abandoned Nauvoo and eventually made their way to the Salt Lake Valley. Mormon

leaders petitioned the U.S. Congress to accord Utah territorial status, which was granted as part of the compromise of 1850 (Hansen, 1992). The following year President Millard Fillmore appointed Brigham Young governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in the territory of Utah (Walker et al., 2008).

The opposition and violence Mormons were both victims of and party to during the first several decades of their history may largely be accounted for by the vigilante culture prevalent at the time in the U.S.—particularly in its frontier regions (R. M. Brown, 1969; Flanders, 1992a). Vigilantism was “popularized and legitimized by the War for Independence” (Flanders, 1992a, p. 95) and gained momentum in the wake of Andrew Jackson’s election as President of the U.S. in 1828. Mason (2011) affirmed, “In its celebration of democracy and the common man, Jacksonian American culture virtually sanctified the vox populi, raising the question of whether the new nation was governed by the people or by law” (p. 8). This culture emboldened local citizens to take justice into their own hands when they felt the norms of their community were threatened or offended (Flanders, 1992a; Lund, 2012; Mason, 2011). Mason further explained:

Vigilantes knew they worked outside the restraints of the law—that was precisely the point. They considered their extralegal activities to be justified, and thus not illegal in the higher sense, because they maintained social order, preserved true democracy, and purged their communities of unwanted elements. In antebellum America, and continuing well beyond the Civil War in the frontier West and much of the South, the voice of the people often manifested itself in violent extralegal action that superseded regularly constituted law and government on behalf of the perceived common good. In this way, as historian Richard Maxwell Brown has emphasized, nineteenth-century vigilante movements were typically ‘socially conservative,’ seeking to defend the ‘traditional structure and values of the local community against the threatening presence of the criminal and disorderly.’ Often including leading citizens of the community, such as politicians, judges, lawyers, and businessmen, vigilantism worked to strengthen, not alter or overthrow, the existing norms and values of society in which the elites maintained power. The

raison d'être of a typical vigilante movement was not revolution, but rather reification of the status quo. (p. 6)

Vigilante posses, militias, and mobs typically punished individuals accused of criminal or offensive behavior. Members of minority groups were also at risk, including Jews, Indians, Blacks, Catholics, and Masons (Flanders, 1992a; Mason, 2011). Like these groups, Mormons were characterized as dangerous and un-American (Givens, 1997; Mason, 2011). Because of their unorthodox beliefs and suspicion-arousing social, economic, and political practices, Mormons quickly became obvious targets of vigilante action. In both Missouri and Illinois, those who opposed the Mormons justified acts of violence against them by appealing to notions of popular sovereignty and the preservation of their own political rights (Oaks & Hill, 1975).

After they relocated to Utah territory, Mormons continued to have problems with their non-Mormon neighbors, whom they termed *gentiles*. The U.S. military officers and soldiers, federal judges, Indian agents, and land surveyors who came to Utah territory clashed with the Mormon settlers who were determined to assert their own interpretation of popular sovereignty to establish a religious commonwealth (Bagley, 2002a; Walker et al., 2008). Non-Mormons were particularly agitated by the concentration of social, political, and religious power in the hands of Mormon leaders and their public endorsement of polygamy (Gordon, 2002; MacKinnon, 2007).

Tension between Mormons and non-Mormons continued to rise in Utah territory throughout the 1850s. In the fall of 1856, LDS ecclesiastical leaders initiated what has been called the Mormon Reformation (P.H. Peterson, 1989). Church leaders sought to urge the Mormon people to greater faithfulness and began preaching the concept of blood

atonement for misdeeds. Brigham Young (1857) proclaimed:

There are sins that men commit for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins. (p. 53)

In the years since the Mormon Reformation, Mormon leaders have asserted that Brigham Young and his associates employed such teachings as a rhetorical device to emphasize the gravity of certain sins rather than an operative policy used to punish wrongdoing (McConkie, 1966; Snow, 1992). However, historians generally agree that the oratory on blood atonement during the years 1856 and 1857 also contributed to a culture of violence in Utah territory (Bagley, 2002a; Turner, 2012; Walker et al., 2008). Perhaps emboldened by the rhetoric, some Mormons engaged in vigilante activity against their non-Mormon opponents and even against fellow church members whose loyalty or faithfulness they deemed questionable (Bagley, 2002a; Turner, 2012; Walker et al., 2008). Some Mormons, who previously had been victimized by the philosophy of localism (Lund, 2012), now used it to their advantage to impose their will on individuals they viewed as outsiders.

Near the height of the Mormon reformation, a non-Mormon federal judge in Utah territory, W.W. Drummond, sent a letter to Washington, D.C., accusing the Mormons of corruption and lawlessness. Soon thereafter, Utah's chief justice presented additional letters of complaint from himself and the territory's surveyor general to Washington officials. These letters decried the power of the Mormon hierarchy and proposed that federal troops be sent to Utah to ensure the authority of the U.S. government

(MacKinnon, 2007). At this time, Utah's territorial delegate was also in Washington, D.C. to deliver messages from Brigham Young and the territorial legislature. These Mormon religious and civic leaders demanded the right to select federal officers for the territory (MacKinnon, 2007). Young warned that any Washington appointees who failed to meet the approval of the people of Utah would be turned away (Walker et al., 2008).

After receiving word of these apparent threats of insubordination, President James Buchanan declared Utah territory to be in a state of rebellion on May 28, 1857. He appointed non-Mormon Alfred Cumming to replace Brigham Young as territorial governor and dispatched some 1,500 troops to enforce U.S. policy and the rule of law in the territory (Gordon, 2002). When news of the approaching army reached Brigham Young, he decided to accept the new territorial officers if they would govern peaceably, but pledged to resist the entrance of federal troops into the territory (Bagley, 2002a; Walker et al., 2008). Young planned to recruit Indians to assist the Mormons as allies against the army (Bagley, 2002a; Walker et al., 2008). He sent instructions to Mormon settlements to prepare for hostilities and directed the people to save ammunition and store their excess grain rather than sell it to non-Mormon emigrants. Brigham Young dispatched George A. Smith, who held the high ranking office of apostle, to deliver these instructions to the Mormons of southern Utah. Smith spent the weeks just prior to the Mountain Meadows Massacre conveying these instructions and supervising drill exercises of Mormon militia units (G. A. Smith, 1857; "Trip to the Santa Clara," 1857). After Smith returned to Salt Lake City, he gave the following report of his experience of speaking to the people of Cedar City: "I never had greater liberty of speech to proclaim to

the people my feelings and views, and in spite of all I could do I found myself preaching a military discourse” (“Trip to the Santa Clara,” 1857, p. 3). Reflecting on his preaching at the settlement John D. Lee established in Harmony, Smith recalled, “I must say that my discourse partook of the military more than the religious” (“Trip to the Santa Clara,” 1857, p. 3).

As Mormons prepared for hostilities late in the summer of 1857, a representative of the U.S. Army, Captain Stewart Van Vliet, ventured ahead of the troops to inform Brigham Young that U.S. forces did not intend to attack the Mormons. By the time of Van Vliet’s arrival in Salt Lake City on September 8, the siege of an emigrant wagon train in southern Utah had already begun, leading to the Mountain Meadows Massacre on September 11. The conflict between the U.S. government and Utah territory—often called the Mormon Rebellion or Utah War—directly produced only a few skirmishes between the two sides and ended in a nonviolent resolution in the summer of 1858. However, coupled with 25 years of experience with violence and exile, the Utah War sparked intense emotions among the Mormons and generated the conditions in which the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred.

Emigrant Victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre

The emigrant wagon train attacked at Mountain Meadows in September 1857 is commonly referred to as the Baker-Fancher train, named for two of its leading families. Though the train fluctuated in numbers during its westward trek, at the time of its demise it consisted of about 137 people traveling with 16 to 19 wagons and approximately 650 to

750 loose cattle (Walker et al., 2008).

Prior to the massacre, the Baker-Fancher train experienced hostilities while passing through Mormon settlements such as Provo, Parowan, and Cedar City. Conflicts primarily centered on the consumption of pasture by the emigrants' cattle and the Mormons' refusal to sell grain to members of the wagon train as per Brigham Young's instructions to store foodstuffs in preparation for a possible war with federal troops. The apparent strife may have been compounded as Mormon settlers learned that most of the emigrants had come from Arkansas, where a revered Mormon apostle, Parley P. Pratt, was murdered in May of 1857. Others of the train may have come from Missouri, where the Mormons had been victims of aggression and violence some 20 years earlier. Brooks (1962) noted that most of the Mormons in the southern settlements "had been with the church through the persecutions of Missouri and Illinois" (p. 31).

The wagon train was first attacked at Mountain Meadows early on the morning of Monday, September 7, 1857. After enduring a 5-day siege, most of the members of the wagon train were murdered on Friday, September 11. Only 17 children, all under the age of 6, survived the massacre. The children resided with Mormon families in southern Utah until they were rounded up by a federal official, Jacob Forney, between July 1858 and April 1859. The children were then returned to live with their relatives in Arkansas and Missouri (Bowman, 1860).

Legal Aftermath of the Mountain Meadows Massacre

In 1859 Jacob Forney, who had replaced Brigham Young as Utah's

superintendent of Indian affairs, and U.S. Army Brevet Major James Henry Carlton conducted investigations of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Carleton (1859) issued a report to Congress asserting that Mormon leaders had instigated the massacre, and that both Mormons and Paiutes had participated in the killings. Federal judge John Cradlebaugh issued warrants for the arrest of John D. Lee, Isaac C. Haight, and John Higbee—three prominent Mormon leaders in southern Utah—but they were able to evade capture. Additionally, Cradlebaugh publicly accused Brigham Young of having instigated the massacre and obstructed the prosecution of the murderers (Bagley, 2002a). A probate court headed by Elias Smith, a Mormon judge loyal to Brigham Young, ordered the Salt Lake County sheriff to arrest Young on charges that he was an accessory before the fact and after the fact for the crimes at Mountain Meadows, and to hold him in custody of the court. Bagley has postulated that this arrest was intended to protect the Mormon leader from federal authorities inasmuch as Young was subsequently released from custody and no further legal actions were taken against him.

After examining documentary evidence concerning government efforts to capture the principal instigators of the massacre, historian Thomas G. Alexander (2006) concluded:

[Brigham] Young and other prominent church and civic leaders offered both physical and monetary assistance to capture and try those accused of perpetrating the massacre. Their efforts to assist the responsible federal officials in the investigation failed, not because the church leaders stonewalled, but because Utah's U.S. marshal and chief justice torpedoed them by refusing to accept the offered assistance. (p. 10)

During the 1860s, events associated with the U.S. Civil War drew federal authorities' attention away from prosecuting the perpetrators of the massacre. However,

five Mormons were arrested in the early 1870s for participating in the Mountain Meadows Massacre: John D. Lee, Philip Klingensmith, William H. Dame, Elliott Willden, and George Adair. Warrants were also issued for the arrest of four other Mormons—Isaac C. Haight, John Higbee, William C. Stewart, and Samuel Jukes—each of whom later died while in hiding (Bagley, 2002a). No Indians were indicted for the crime. Prosecutors eventually dismissed the cases against Dame, Willden, and Adair, while Klingensmith turned state's evidence. He described the massacre as a military operation conducted under the direction of local militia leaders Haight, Higbee, Dame, and Lee. Furthermore, Klingensmith stated he did not know if these local leaders acted on their own authority or under the direction of the territory's "Commander-in-chief at Salt Lake City," Brigham Young (Brooks, 1962, p. 239).

In 1874, John D. Lee was arrested for murder based on his participation in the massacre. The following year, in a nationally publicized trial, Lee pled not guilty. His attorneys claimed that Lee tried to prevent Indians from attacking the wagon train, and that the Indians threatened to kill him if he did not assist them. Lee also refused to implicate Brigham Young in the massacre. The trial ended with a hung jury as three non-Mormon jurors voted guilty while eight Mormon jurors and one former Mormon juror voted not guilty. The hung jury resulted in a mistrial. Lee was tried again in 1876 and was convicted of murder by an all-Mormon jury. Some historians have asserted that Mormon leaders instructed the jurors to convict Lee with the intention of painting him as a lone renegade in order to deflect culpability away from the LDS Church (Brooks, 1950; Bagley, 2002a; Turner, 2012). Lee was executed by firing squad at the Mountain

Meadows on March 23, 1877.

Challenges with Source Materials on the Mountain Meadows Massacre

The Mountain Meadows Massacre has evoked sustained interest for over 150 years. Between the years 1857-1859, at least 95 articles on the massacre appeared in newspapers from Los Angeles to New York (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2007). These reports alarmed and outraged much of the nation. Presently, accounts and analysis of the event continue to proliferate in the form of articles, history books, websites, novels, plays, television, and film (University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2007). Since 1857, claims and counterclaims regarding who should bear culpability for the atrocity have persisted with remarkable tenacity. For instance, as recently as 2003 the popular periodical *True West* published the headline: “Did Brigham Young Order a Massacre?” Below the headline, two articles appeared in response to the question—and in direct opposition to one another: “Brigham Young Did It” by Will Bagley, and “No He Didn’t” by Ronald Walker.

A primary challenge in deciphering the accuracy of competing narratives of the massacre, particularly in terms of who was primarily responsible for it, stems from a lack of reliability regarding the original sources of the accounts. Most narratives of the massacre assert the inclusion of the three parties discussed above: Mormon settlers, Paiute Indians of southern Utah, and emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri. However, because all of the adult emigrants were killed, and because Paiutes relied on oral and not written forms of communication, the original sources from those involved in the atrocity

were provided almost exclusively by Mormon participants.

In a report of the massacre written to Brigham Young on November 20, 1857, John D. Lee claimed members of the Baker-Fancher train poisoned Indians, who then slaughtered all but 17 children among the emigrants as an act of revenge (Brooks, 1962). The first public report of the massacre in Utah territory, made by the Mormon-operated *Deseret News* in December 1857, mirrored Lee's account and disseminated a version of the massacre that laid blame solely with local Indians ("Notice," 1857). However, historical evidence suggests that by June of 1858, Jacob Hamblin had informed LDS Church leaders in Salt Lake City that John D. Lee had participated with Indians in the killings (Alexander, 2006; Testimony in the Trials of John D. Lee, 2006).

In July 1858, George A. Smith traveled to southern Utah, spoke with local Mormon settlers concerning the massacre, and investigated the scene at Mountain Meadows (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858a). Smith wrote a report of the massacre to be included in the LDS Church's historical archives. Entitled "The Emigrant and Indian War at Mountain Meadows," the report stated that Indians attacked the wagon train of their own accord and "killed the entire company, with the exception of a few small children" (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858e). According to this report, the Mormons' only involvement included their efforts to pacify the Indians and bury the dead.

Two days after composing this report, George A. Smith and his companion, Amasa Lyman, began a series of hearings possibly related to the massacre. Although the hearings spanned 5 days, records stated only that "complaints were made against Wm. H.

Dame, and a request made for an investigation” (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858b).

Dame was a local Church leader and the presiding officer over the militia in southern Utah. Following the hearings, Dame was exonerated of misconduct and allowed to retain his leadership positions. Smith and Lyman concluded that “the complaints were the result of evil backbiting and talking” and “the rumors and statements made out of doors would not bear investigation when they came into council” (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858c).

Following this episode, Smith wrote a letter to Brigham Young stating, “I have gathered some information in relation to the difficulties between the emigrants and Indians, which terminated in the horrible massacre at the Mountain Meadows” (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858d). He then outlined a number of details which were not included in his earlier report, including allegations that the emigrants had poisoned Indians at Corn Creek, verbally abused the Mormon people, and threatened to join forces with the U.S. Army to destroy the Mormons. Smith’s letter again affirmed that the massacre began as an Indian attack, and that some Mormons sought to conciliate the Indians but were themselves threatened with death. He stated that the Mormon militia marched to the meadows with the intention of helping the besieged emigrants against their assailants, only to find that “the Indians had killed the entire company with the exception of a few small children” (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858d). Smith also added: “It is reported that John D. Lee and a few other white men were on the ground during a portion of the combat, but for what purpose, or how they conducted themselves, or whether, indeed, they were there at all, I have not learned” (*Journal History of the*

Church, 1858d). Additionally, Smith's letter accentuated the hostile character of the emigrants and Indians, which distanced Mormon settlers from culpability:

The prejudice that these emigrants had themselves excited during their passage through the territory, contributed not a little to inspire in the minds of the people an indifference as to what the Indians might do, but nobody dreamed of nor anticipated so dreadful a result. There were not a dozen white men living within 30 miles of the spot where the transaction occurred, and they were scattered two or three in a place, herding cattle....

For the citizens to have attacked and killed Indians in defense of the emigrants would have been little else than suicide, as you are well aware of the exposed condition of the Southern settlers, and the annoyance to which the Indians had been subjected for many years by emigrants killing them, as they passed through the Indian Country. (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858d)

Smith concluded his report to Young: "I have given you the substance of information I have received from various individuals during my canvass and I regret exceedingly that such a lamentable occurrence should have taken place within the limits of this territory" (*Journal History of the Church*, 1858d).

In contrast to early Mormon accounts of the massacre, California newspapers based their initial reports of the tragedy on the word of emigrants following the Baker-Fancher train. The emigrants not only suggested Mormons were involved, but had likely instigated the massacre and incited Indian participation ("Letter from Angel's Camp," 1857; "The late horrible massacre," 1857). As early as October 27, 1857, the *Daily Evening Bulletin* in San Francisco was plainly characterizing the atrocity as "the Mormon massacre" and calling for retribution—"the extermination of the Mormons...the vile brood of incestuous miscreants" ("The Federal Government and the Mormons," 1857).

A narrative condemning Mormons for the massacre gained nation-wide notoriety in 1859 when Charles Brewer, an army surgeon who accompanied Brevet Major James

Henry Carlton in his investigation at the Mountain Meadows, published a shocking description of the victims' remains in the popular periodical *Harper's Weekly*. Featuring a sketch of the killing field with wolves gnawing on scattered human skeletons, Brewer's article memorialized the emigrants as "harmless citizens of [the] land of justice and freedom" who "were coolly, deliberately, and designedly butchered by those professing to be their own countrymen" (pp. 513-514). Brewer (1859) continued:

I have conversed with the Indians engaged in this massacre. They say that they but obeyed the command of Brigham Young, sent by letter, as soldiers obey the command of their chief; that the Mormons were not only the instigators but the most active participants in the crime; that Mormons led the attack, took possession of the spoil; that much of that spoil remains with them; and still more, was sold at the tithing office of the Church. (pp. 513-514)

During the 1870s, several events continued to arouse national interest in the story of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. A series of anti-Mormon exposés were printed throughout the decade offering sensational accounts and lurid details of the massacre (Beadle, 1870, 1877; Stenhouse, 1873, 1874). Mark Twain published *Roughing It* in 1872, reminding his readers of the massacre 15 years earlier and how "the whole U.S. rang with its horrors" (Twain, 1891, p. 576). Twain alleged that Brigham Young ordered the massacre as an act of revenge on the citizens of Arkansas and Missouri and claimed that Mormons, "painted and tricked out as Indians," attacked the train and planned the slaughter of the emigrants (p. 577). National interest in the massacre subsequently grew as newspapers reported and commented on the arrest, trials, and execution of John D. Lee. Five months after Lee's death, his attorney, William W. Bishop, published the memoirs of the infamous Mormon. Entitled *Mormonism Unveiled* (Lee, 1877), the book "became an immediate national best-seller" (Bagley, 2002a, p. 318) and particularly

roused interest with its claim that Brigham Young had sent George A. Smith to southern Utah in the summer of 1857 for the express purpose of ordering Mormon settlers to destroy the Baker-Fancher wagon train. While some historians have taken this assertion at face value (Bagley, 2002a; Denton, 2003; Gibbs, 1910; Wise, 1976), others have questioned whether Lee actually authored the statements implicating Young and Smith (Turley, 2008). Walker and colleagues (2008) have argued that Bishop altered the text of *Mormonism Unveiled* after Lee's death "to make the book more sensational and to improve its sales.... Bishop had a motive for making these changes as his legal fees were tied to the book's royalties" (p. 71). Turley has also pointed out the inconsistency between the allegations made against Brigham Young in *Mormonism Unveiled* and Lee's final actions. During his second trial, Lee continued to refuse to blame Young for the massacre even when prosecutors offered him immunity from the death penalty in exchange for testimony condemning the Mormon leader.

The story of the massacre continued to plague the reputation of the LDS Church in the 1880s. In the American consciousness, Mormons were linked with violence to such a degree that following the assassination of U. S. President James Garfield in 1881, the celebrated Reverend Dr. Thomas DeWitt Talmage declared that the assassin (who was not a Mormon) "had the ugliness of a Mormon, the licentiousness of a Mormon, the cruelty of a Mormon, the murderous spirit of a Mormon" (Givens, 1997, p. 40). To counteract the popular caricature of Mormon depravity, LDS leaders in 1884 directed Charles W. Penrose—the editor of the *Deseret News*—to deliver a public address in Salt Lake City on the topic of the massacre. Penrose (1889) observed that the notoriety of the

massacre was threatening the lifeblood of the LDS Church—its missionary program. While traveling throughout the U.S. and even abroad, the church’s missionaries regularly met “with the statement that the ‘Mormon’ Church, with Brigham Young at its head, is a bloody church. Wherever the servants of God have gone to preach the gospel, the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been thrown in their teeth” (Penrose, 1889, p. 330).

Penrose’s (1889) address altered the standard Mormon narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Prior to this occasion, the Mormon hierarchy sanctioned the idea that the massacre was solely an Indian affair. Now, Penrose stated that John D. Lee led local Indians in an attack against the wagon train. While conceding that local Mormon settlers were involved in the massacre, Penrose adamantly disassociated Brigham Young from the crime and absolved him of any responsibility.

Penrose offered three key points in his narrative to buttress his argument of Brigham Young’s innocence. First, he emphasized the physical distance of the Mountain Meadows from Salt Lake City and the difficulties of communication produced by such a distance.

It should be understood that at that time the southern settlements were few and far between, and the country was sparsely settled. The place where the massacre took place was 350 miles or thereabouts south and west of Salt Lake City. There were no railroads in the country at that time; and the U.S. mails had been stopped. (Penrose, 1889, p. 24)

Next, Penrose (1889) explained that Mormon leaders in Cedar City sent a messenger on horseback to Salt Lake City to solicit Brigham Young’s advice on how to deal with the Baker-Fancher train.

A messenger was dispatched on the 7th day of September, 1857. His name was James Haslam. He came to Salt Lake City, saw President Young, delivered his

message and a letter from Isaac C. Haight, and received a dispatch from President Young to take back, and he was told to “spare no horse-flesh”—to go “with all speed” and deliver the dispatch as quickly as possible. That dispatch was delivered to Isaac C. Haight at Cedar City on the following Sunday, which according to the dates that I have traced up, must have been on the 13th day of September. Isaac C. Haight’s answer was, “It is too late.” (p. 11)

From Brigham Young’s letter book, Penrose produced a copy of Young’s message to Haight, which instructed:

In regard to emigration trains passing through our settlements we must not interfere with them untill [sic] they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. The Indians we expect will do as they please but you should try and preserve good feelings with them. There are no other trains going south that I know of if those who are there will leave let them go in peace. (Penrose, 1889, p. 49)

Finally, Penrose (1889) sought to disprove a statement in *Mormonism Unveiled* (Lee, 1877) asserting that John D. Lee reported the participation of Mormon settlers in the massacre to Brigham Young shortly after the atrocity. Penrose produced three affidavits—from Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and John W. Young—swearing that in Lee’s report to Young, he stated that only Indians were involved.

Mormons readily embraced the amended narrative offered by Penrose, a future Mormon apostle. His address was published as a pamphlet in 1889. This account, which centered blame for the massacre directly on John D. Lee and unnamed Indians, quickly gained hegemonic status in Utah. Throughout the rest of the U.S., however, the prevailing narrative continued to implicate Brigham Young—and by association, the Mormon Church—for inciting and condoning the massacre.

As the 20th century dawned, textbook authors in Utah began producing history curricula for the state’s schoolchildren. For these writers, the competing narratives of the

Mountain Meadows Massacre described above loomed implacably as sources to be adopted, repudiated, or simply ignored.

Chapter Summary

Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's public school curricula have changed substantially over time. Textbooks and other curricula that include narratives of the massacre typically differ in their explanations of who instigated and committed the massacre—White Mormon pioneers and/or Paiute Indians. Members of these two groups established relations with one another in the early 1850s before the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred, although Mormons quickly became the dominant party in this relationship. Additionally, prior to the massacre, Mormons experienced decades of conflict and violence due to their status as both victims and proponents of vigilantism. In time, growing tension between Mormons in Utah and the U.S. government produced what is often called the Mormon Rebellion or Utah War, and generated the conditions in which the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred.

Following the massacre, federal officials issued warrants for the arrest of nine Mormons of southern Utah. Ultimately, only one of these—John D. Lee—was tried, convicted, and executed for the crime. No Paiutes were charged or arrested. Competing narratives emerged concerning who was to blame for the atrocity. Outside Utah, narratives typically charged Brigham Young and the Mormon Church with planning and executing the massacre. Within Utah, narratives first laid blame with Indians, and later averred that John D. Lee and perhaps other local Mormon settlers were involved. These

competing narratives persisted as curriculum writers produced the first textbooks on Utah history at the beginning of the 20th century.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH PROBLEM, QUESTIONS, AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research Problem

As discussed in Chapter I, competing narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre began circulating almost immediately after the atrocity occurred. The dominant narrative produced by Mormons and propagated throughout Utah placed blame for the massacre on Paiute Indians, John D. Lee, and a few other local Mormon settlers of southern Utah. In contrast, the narrative largely disseminated throughout the rest of the U.S. centered blame on the Mormon people in general while specifically impugning their leader, Brigham Young.

Culpability is an important component in any narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre because it is the hinge on which basic differences in accounts of the massacre traditionally have swung. Walker and colleagues (2008), who conducted an exhaustive review of primary and secondary source documents on the massacre, offered the following observation.

Broadly speaking, since historians and others began to tell the story of the massacre, they have followed three main approaches. The first two are poles apart. One approach portrays the perpetrators [White Mormons] as good people and the victims [Arkansas emigrants] as evil ones who committed outrages during their travel through central and southern Utah. Some descendants of the perpetrators and several Mormon historians have adopted this approach because it seems, on the surface, to excuse or soften what happened. The second approach looks at the innocence of the emigrants and the evil of their killers, who at best are described as followers of a misguided religion. Some relatives of the emigrant families, church critics, and many non-Mormons have found this position attractive....

[Each of these approaches] overlooks how complex human beings can be—good and evil, after all, are widely shared human traits. Nor do these approaches recognize how diverse the two groups were. Moreover, each of the two polarized explanations breaks down logically. Nothing that the emigrants purportedly did comes close to justifying their murder. Their wagon company was made up mostly of young families traveling through the territory in pursuit of their dreams. The leading men and women among them had been substantial citizens in their Arkansas communities and promised to make their mark in California. Likewise, most of the killers led exemplary lives before and after the massacre. Except for their experiences during a single, nightmarish week in September 1857, most of them were ordinary humans with little to distinguish them from other nineteenth-century frontiersmen. Some in fact would have been pillars in any community.

The third main approach to understanding the massacre attempts to navigate between the extremes of the other two. This approach is partly a commonsense recognition that both victims and perpetrators were decent but imperfect people whose paths crossed in a moment of history that resulted in terrible tragedy. (pp. xii-xiii)

As evidenced in this statement, culpability for the massacre is not simply coincidental to the various narratives that have emerged since 1857; rather culpability is typically the driving force behind the narratives. Largely because significant differences in various accounts have existed regarding what occurred during the Mountain Meadows Massacre and who was responsible for the crime, a chronicler of Utah historiography characterized the massacre as “the quintessentially controversial issue in Utah history” (Topping, 2003, p. 28). The timing and extent of Brigham Young’s awareness of Mormon involvement in the massacre is a matter of ongoing debate among historians (Alexander, 2006; Bagley, 2002a). The controversy inherent in historians’ divergent portrayals of the massacre is only compounded by the question of whether—or how—to present the massacre in Utah state history and social studies textbooks produced for children. Curricular narratives of the massacre become problematic not only because of the horrific violence involved in the massacre, but also because of the historian’s duty of

how to account for it. In sum, textbook authors of Utah history have faced significant and persistent challenges in deciding how to depict the gruesome murders of 120 people, and then explaining why these murders occurred.

An experience I had in the fall of 2003 piqued my interest in curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. At that time, I was employed as a seminary instructor for the LDS church. My responsibilities centered on providing Mormon youth with educational experiences that would increase their understanding of and faith in LDS doctrine and history. The seminary where I worked was located adjacent to a high school in a predominately LDS community in Utah. One day at lunchtime, several students approached me with concern evident in their faces. They had come directly from their U.S. history class at the high school where they had learned for the first time about the horrific massacre at Mountain Meadows. Not only were the students disturbed by the details of the massacre, they were also shocked to hear their teacher implicate Brigham Young in the crime. Thus, they came to me not only wanting to know more about what happened, but also about the alleged role of Brigham Young—whom they had always viewed as a great moral and spiritual leader of their faith. Did Brigham Young order a massacre?

The students' question prompted questions of my own. At that time I knew little about the massacre. While seeking answers in a variety of secondary sources, including histories of Utah and LDS church curricula, I discovered significant discrepancies in the narratives. Later, while examining Utah textbooks written for secondary students, I found that these accounts also varied substantially in detailing what occurred at the Mountain

Meadows and why.

This study focuses on how Utah's public school curricula have portrayed the Mountain Meadows Massacre to the state's schoolchildren. The research problem providing the purpose for this study arises from evidence that curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have changed significantly over time, particularly in how they portray culpability for the massacre. This research documents those changes and seeks to explain why they occurred.

Research Questions

In addressing the research problem stated above, this study will seek to answer the following question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula?

In addition to responding to this research question, I will address five ancillary questions. I have structured the first three as preliminary questions because the answers they yield inform my response to the primary research question. These three preliminary questions were as follows.

1. How have narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's public school curricula changed over time in the way they portray culpability for the event?
2. How have Utah's history and social studies texts changed with regard to how they represent Paiute Indians?
3. How does culpability for the massacre in public school curricular narratives compare to culpability as portrayed in the following sources: monument narratives, LDS

curricular narratives, Paiute Indian narratives, and historical scholarship?

In Chapter VII, after I respond to these preliminary research questions and the primary research question, I discuss the significance of this study by responding to the following two ancillary research questions.

1. Based on the findings of this study, how have Utah's history and social studies curricula demonstrated concern for the aims of either social transmission or social transformation?

2. What implications can be drawn from this study concerning influences on history and social studies curricula in general?

My responses to each of the questions mentioned above are informed by the theoretical framework used to conceptualize this study.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this study draws from four literatures. The first explores ideology in curriculum. This literature provides a definition of curriculum and gives a basis for considering how the curricula in schools and on public monuments convey the values and interests of those who produce and promote them. This literature also explains how history and social studies curricula are typically designed to further the purposes of either social transmission or transformation. As part of my review of the literature on ideology in curriculum, I also outline early educational practices and curricula employed in Utah. The second literature is on multicultural education theory, which informs our understanding of how and why perspectives of minority or

marginalized groups have often been excluded from the curriculum, as well as the processes that can bring about their inclusion. Postcolonial theory is the subject of the third literature, which provides a critical lens for examining the subjection and representation of indigenous peoples and cultures by European and American colonizers. The fourth literature surveys significant developments in Mormon historiography over the past century. Reviews of each of these literatures, coupled with explanations of how they contribute in accomplishing the purpose of this study, are given below.

Ideology in Curriculum

Because analysis of Utah's public school curricula comprises the focus of this study, it is helpful to define the term *curriculum*. In its broadest sense, curriculum encompasses all of the experiences students have at school. Eisner (2002) identified three types of curricula: explicit, implicit, and null. The explicit curriculum of a school encompasses its overt objectives, including the imparting of literacy, mathematical skills, and other clear educational aims. The implicit curriculum involves the variety of ways schools impart values through routines and procedures, such as requiring students to raise their hands to speak, or to arrive at a certain location before a bell rings. Finally, the null curriculum refers to that which is left out of schools or their educational materials. Eisner asserted the importance of considering the concept of the null curriculum.

It is my thesis that what schools do not teach may be as important as what schools do teach. I argue this position because ignorance is not simply a neutral void; it has important effects on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives that one can examine, and the perspectives from which one can view a situation. (p. 97)

In this study, the term *curriculum* typically is employed in reference to the explicit

curriculum, or the instructional materials “that are intended to have educational consequences for one or more students” (Eisner, 2002, p. 31).

By dictating educational content and pedagogy, the explicit curriculum typically conveyed through print and electronic media presents not only the information—but also the values or ideologies—that societies deem essential to impart to successive generations (Schiro, 2008). Schiro defined ideology as a “worldview that embodies the way a person or a group of people believes the world should be organized and function” (p. 8). Ideologies encompass and grow out of various cultural, social, religious, and political perspectives. Education is a manifestation of ideology inasmuch as it seeks to either perpetuate or alter the norms and values of a society. From this point of view, curriculum and ideology are inseparable. In fact, Eisner (2002) wedded these concepts to produce the term “curriculum ideologies,” which he defined as “beliefs about what schools should teach, for what ends, and for what reasons” (p. 47).

Eisner (2002) observed that “there is no single ideology that directs education” (p. 47). In other words, individuals and groups with differing perspectives and worldviews disagree about the purposes, content, and methods of education (Labaree, 1997). These disagreements include divergent opinions regarding what information and values curriculum should present. In addition, curriculum ideologies not only fail to be neutral, but they tend to “carry cultural impulses to dominate rival ideologies and control aspects of their culture” (Schiro, 2008, p. 9). Curriculum ideologies seek to accomplish this outcome “by educating (socializing, indoctrinating, acculturating) people to their beliefs by subtly attempting to orient people’s thinking in such a way that they accept the

ideology's view of the way things should be" (Schiro, 2008, p. 9). Schiro has illustrated the political nature of competing educational ideologies.

As individuals, we are constantly disagreeing with each other—and with ourselves—about what we should be doing in our schools. As members of politically oriented groups, we lobby state departments of education over which textbooks or instructional programs should be used in our states. As a nation, we issue one prestigious report after another, many of them disagreeing with each other, about what the problems of American education are and how those problems should be solved. (p. 2)

In the ongoing rivalry of competing ideologies, some curricular materials inevitably prevail and are adopted by certain states or school districts while others fall by the wayside. The extent to which a particular curriculum is adopted in a community can reveal insights concerning who wields influence in that society and what their beliefs, values, and interests may be (Camicia, 2007; Nash et al., 1997). Nash and colleagues thus described state-sanctioned curriculum documents as “artifacts of the particular times in which they were written” (p. xix).

Like public school curriculum, public monuments portray the “official” knowledge (Apple, 2000) and interpretations of events societies deem important to pass on to succeeding generations of citizens (Eisner, 2002; Farmer, 2010). Monuments are emblems of meaning that represent society's choices to remember or forget certain events (Farmer, 2010). Because monuments and public school curricula fulfill similar functions in society, the literature I cite on ideology in curriculum is applicable to the monument narratives I examine as part of this study.

Ideology in history and social studies curricula. While members of a society may debate which subjects should be taught or emphasized in public schools, history and

social studies curricula in the U.S. have proven to be especially poignant sources of contention (R. W. Evans, 2004; Nash et al., 1997; Zimmerman, 2002). Stanley (2010) has accounted for this contention by noting that in the U.S., people of varying perspectives have advocated and employed history and social studies education to accomplish competing objectives—either the transmission or the transformation of the nation’s social order. According to this paradigm, the purposes of history and social studies education are inherently political (Stanley, 2010). Parker (2010) has contended that most history and social studies curricula serve the purposes of transmission and its underlying objective of political socialization, which he defined as the “activity of reproducing people who embody the dominant social norms, customs, beliefs, and institutions” within a society (p. 7).

Those who believe the purposes of history and social studies education are entwined with the act of transmission likely subscribe to the philosophy of American exceptionalism (Loewen, 1996; Pease, 2007). This perspective is especially embraced by traditional history educators who argue that history is superior to other social science disciplines and emphasize “content acquisition, chronology, and the textbook as the backbone of the course” (R. W. Evans, 2010, p. 25).

In contrast to those who espouse the objective of social transmission, other history and social studies educators, theorists, and curriculum developers advocate the need for social transformation. As evidence of this need, they cite historical and contemporary inequities such as ethnic, racial, and gender discrimination, poverty, woefully imbalanced educational opportunities, and the disproportionate concentration of power in the hands

of society's dominant groups (Stanley, 2010). Those who advocate the ideals of transformation argue that change is necessary to bring about greater political, educational, and economic equality.

Ideology in Utah's early educational practices and curricula. In Utah, history and social studies instruction have been a source of conflict among Utah residents who are members of LDS church and those who are not (Buchanan, 1996; Buchanan & Briscoe, 1975). Since the production of Utah's first history textbook in 1908 until the present, those who have chronicled the past for the state's schoolchildren have either deliberately or unwittingly dealt with the basic issue discussed above: Should Utah's history and social studies texts serve the purposes of social transmission or transformation? In my research I have found no body of literature that specifically examines the ideological content of Utah's history and social studies curricula. However, a number of scholars have documented the history of formal education in Utah from the time of the Mormons' arrival in 1847. A brief review of this history will provide helpful context for my analysis of ideology in history and social studies texts produced for Utah's schoolchildren.

The history of education in Utah from 1847 onward necessarily encompasses discussion of the goals, labor, and unremitting influence of the Mormons who colonized the region and their descendants. Poll (1987) explained the difficulty of separating Utah and Mormon history.

For its entire history as a political entity, Utah has been Mormon country. Not only have most of its inhabitants been members of 'the Church,' but this is the single fact most likely to be known by non-Utahns.... The Church's influence on Utah's social, economic, and even government policies and culture has rendered

Utah and Mormonism as practical synonyms. (p. 323)

Prior to the Mormons' arrival in the Great Basin in 1847, their relations with non-Mormons were marked by relentless conflict. The Mormons' physical removal from the U.S. mirrored their cultural separation from key aspects of mainstream American society in the 19th century. Their use of scripture in addition to the *Bible*, their willingness to concentrate political power in the hands of their religious leaders, and their practice of polygamy represented in the minds of many Americans nothing less than treason to some of the nation's most sacred religious, social, and political institutions (Bentley, 2002; Bushman, 2005). This cultural rupture continued to manifest itself after the Mormons' removal to the Great Basin. Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, Mormons in Utah, and the "gentile" or non-Mormon U.S. citizens who followed them there, envisioned schools as places to teach much more than arithmetic and grammar. The schools became repositories of passionately held ideologies, and were seen as the key to either transmitting distinctive Latter-day Saint beliefs and values to successive generations, or transforming society in Utah to conform to the values then prevalent throughout the U.S. The history of education in Utah is a classic illustration of the following observation made by Walter Lippman (as cited in Parker, 2010).

Wherever two or more groups within a state differ in religion, or in language and in nationality, the immediate concern of each group is to use the schools to preserve its own faith and tradition. For it is in the school that the child is drawn towards or drawn away from the religion and the patriotism of its parents. (p. 8).

Within months of the Mormons' entrance into the Salt Lake Valley, they were setting up rudimentary schools for their young. Based on the revelations of Mormonism's founding leader, Joseph Smith, Mormons believe that education is essential to a person's

spiritual progress and eternal potential (Esplin, 2006). Thus, Mormon leaders saw no need to distinguish between religious and secular knowledge. This belief is evident in the curriculum used in the schools extant during Utah's pioneer era. Studies centered on religious texts such as the *Bible*, *Book of Mormon*, *Doctrine and Covenants*, and *Voice of Warning*, as well as commonly used educational books like *The English Reader*, the *Lindley-Murray Readers*, Noah Webster's *Spelling Book*, *Towne's Reader and Speller*, *Cobb's Speller*, and *A New and Complete Arithmetic Composed for Citizens of the U.S.* (Bennion, 1939; Cameron, 1939; Huntington, 1888).

In 1850, Mormons founded the University of Deseret in Salt Lake City. In addition to providing higher education, the institution was designed to act as a parent school to foster and supervise public schools throughout the territory (Bennion, 1939). The following year, the Utah legislature passed the first law to provide funds for public schools through taxation (L. E. Young, 1913). However, classes were typically held in LDS church buildings, and the teachers were hired by local Mormon bishops. The church's pervasive influence in Utah society effectively denied any substantive distinction between Mormon and public schooling. Esplin (2006) explained how this situation changed with time.

Conflict soon arose over the religious control of the "public" schools. In 1863, silver was discovered in the area, attracting immigrants to the territory. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in Utah in 1869 expedited the process, bringing a greater non-Mormon or "Gentile" influence to the region. By the 1880 census, 20% of the territory's population was non-Mormon. In Salt-Lake City, as many as one in four belonged to other faiths. Greater numbers demanded a greater voice in local government. Attacks against the political and economic control the LDS Church exerted on personal and community life in Utah increased. Nationally, the federal government stepped up its attacks on the marital practices of the Church. These conflicting religious and social opinions ultimately played

themselves out across society, including in the schools. (p. 9)

Before the first law mandating free public schools in Utah was passed in 1890, various denominations sought to compete with the Mormon common schools by opening some 90 religious schools in the territory (Arrington, 1977; Buchanan, 1986; Esplin, 2006; Hough, 1960). The purpose of these schools was not only to provide education devoid of Mormon influence to children of Protestant and Catholic families, but also to draw Mormon children away from the faith of their parents (Esplin, 2006). Daniel S. Tuttle, who served in the late 19th century as Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City, stated that schools represented “a most efficient instrumentality in doing good missionary work” and “in Utah, especially, schools were the backbone” of this work (Hough, 1960, p. 119). In 1869, U.S. Secretary of State William H. Seward lauded these efforts and postulated: “The schools undertaken by the Episcopal Church in Salt Lake City would do more to solve the Mormon problem than the army and Congress of the U.S. combined” (Hough, 1960, p. 113). Boasting better qualified teachers than the Mormon common schools and a longer school year, the Protestant and Catholic schools enrolled more Mormon children than non-Mormon (Arrington, 1977; Monnett, 1999). At their peak, these schools employed over 200 teachers and provided instruction for some 7,000 students (Arrington, 1977). Additionally, these schools received federal funding, which was simultaneously denied for the support of the territory’s Mormon-run common schools (Bennion, 1939; G. A. Smith, 1872).

Mormons maintained control of the common schools until the 1880s, when the U.S. federal government actively intervened to reduce the political influence of LDS

Church leaders in the territory. In 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes asserted that “the Territory is certainly under the theocratic government of the Mormon Church” and laid out a plan to compel LDS ecclesiastical leaders to conform to U.S. political ideology.

To destroy the temporal power of the Mormon Church is the end in view.... Laws must be enacted which will take from the Mormon Church its temporal power.... Mormonism as a sectarian idea is nothing, but as a system of government it is our duty to deal with it as an enemy to our institutions, and its supporters and leaders as criminals. (Williams, 1922, pp. 583-584)

Congress acted on this appeal by passing a series of laws designed to weaken the assets and influence of the LDS Church and imprison its leaders based on their practice of polygamy. These efforts culminated with the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, which allowed the federal government to confiscate all property of the LDS Church valued over \$50,000, abolished the office of Territorial Superintendent of District Schools that had been filled by Mormon leaders, and appointed a federal commissioner authorized to “prohibit the use in any district school of any book of a sectarian character or otherwise unsuitable” (Buchanan, 1982, p. 441; Esplin, 2006).

Having lost control of the territory’s common schools and the curriculum taught therein, Mormon leaders directed their people to establish private academies for secondary students where religious values could continue to be taught in conjunction with secular knowledge. In 1888, Wilford Woodruff, the president of the LDS Church, declared, “We should have schools where the *Bible*, *The Book of Mormon*, and *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants* can be used as text books, and where the principles of our religion may form a part of the teaching of the schools” (Clark, 1966, p. 168). Two years later, Woodruff called for the establishment of private LDS church academies in Utah

communities to “counteract the tendencies that grow out of a Godless education” (Clark, 1966, p. 196). Between 1888 and 1909, the LDS Church operated some 35 private academies offering secondary education to Mormon youth (Berrett, 1988). Although the motive for establishing the academies was primarily religious, the curriculum employed in these schools ventured beyond theological training. LDS academies sponsored courses based on popular texts in reading, grammar, composition, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and U.S. history (Esplin, 2006).

In contrast to the Mormon hierarchy who endeavored to establish a league of private academies after losing direct control of the Utah’s common schools in the 1880s, the leaders of Protestant and Catholic schools eventually closed most of their institutions during this period. These schools had been largely ineffective in winning converts from the LDS Church, and many of their leaders decided to support the new free public school system in Utah mandated by a law passed in 1890 (Poll, 1978; Szasz, 1988).

In addition to marking the beginning of secular public schools in Utah, the year 1890 was significant for another reason. In September of that year, the LDS Church officially announced its intention to comply with federal law prohibiting the solemnization of plural marriages in Utah. Furthermore, Latter-day Saint leaders began to withdraw their designs to integrate “religion, politics, society, and the economy into a single non-pluralistic community” (Alexander, 1986, p. 14). Arrington and Bitton (1992) explained that “a half-century and more of heated confrontation with the U.S. government had taught Latter-day Saints the practical limits of religious life in America” (p. 184). The air of defiance which for decades had characterized Mormon relations with

U.S. government officials and institutions gradually yielded to a posture of compliance. These changes precipitated Utah's acquisition of statehood in 1896.

One way in which Latter-day Saints demonstrated their changed feelings toward government institutions was in their new approach to education. They acquiesced "in their determination to teach religion as a part of the public school curriculum and generally accepted the national formula by which religious neutrality was maintained in public schools" (C. S. Peterson, 1980, p. 294). Thus, only 15 years after Wilford Woodruff renounced the "Godless education" promoted in public schools (Clark, 1966, p. 196), a subsequent LDS Church President, Joseph F. Smith, declared, "We wish it distinctly understood that we are not in favor of, but are emphatically opposed to, denominational teachings in our public schools. We are proud of that splendid system of [public] schools" (Clark, 1966, p. 101). The impact of LDS Church leaders' support of Utah's public school system at the beginning of the 20th century was evidenced by the growing number of high schools and student enrollments at that time. In 1900, only six public high schools existed in Utah, but this number grew to 40 by 1914 (Moffitt, 1946). By 1924, 90% of high school students in Utah attended state schools (Berrett & Burton, 1958). The expansion of public high schools in Utah also reflected a trend prevalent throughout the U.S. during the same period (Nash et al., 1997; Rury, 2005).

As public high schools began to flourish in Utah, the number of Mormon academies for secondary students diminished. Mormons may have realized that they could maintain significant influence over the public schools and the curricula they employed simply because of their dominant numeric status in the state. Furthermore,

LDS Church leaders came to recognize the financial impossibility of funding Church-owned academies for all high school-aged Mormon children, and they gradually formulated a plan to provide weekday religious instruction in seminaries and institutes of religion that would exist adjacent to public schools, colleges, and universities (Berrett, 1988). While most academies were closed or converted to public high schools in the early 1920s, others slowly morphed into junior colleges before they were eventually sold to the state of Utah (Esplin, 2006). Ultimately, the LDS Church maintained ownership of only two of its original academies in Utah, and these became Brigham Young University and LDS Business College.

Esplin (2006) asserted that “church and state educational organization and relationships in Utah remain largely unchanged” since the mid-1930s (p. 235). He explained:

Though programs have grown and policies have changed..., the decisions made from 1890 to 1933 set the basic structure. Generally, the LDS Church limits itself to religious education, leaving secular interests in what they view to be the qualified hands of the state.... The Church provides released-time religious training for secondary and post-secondary students in conjunction with the public schools. The state of Utah, on the other hand, provides secular instruction at elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels, while allowing the Church to provide its religious instruction by releasing students for high schools seminary programs and cooperating with Church institutes of religion adjacent to its state colleges and universities. (p. 235)

Utah’s gradual shift in political and educational practice in the early part of the 20th century resulted in larger changes in perceptions of Mormon identity. Historians Arrington and Bitton observed, “By the end of World War I, if not before, the Mormons were more American than most Americans. Patriotism, respect for the law, love of the Constitution, and obedience to political authority reigned as principles of the faith”

(Arrington & Bitton, 1992, p. 184). However, in spite of its political assimilation into the U.S., Utah continued to be affected by the state's Mormon heritage and the ongoing influence of its largely Latter-day Saint population. Buchanan and Briscoe (1975) conducted a study of the perceptions of Mormon and non-Mormon residents of Utah to determine the extent to which the state's public schools served as "active agents of accommodation to Mormon culture as far as non-Mormon students were concerned" (p. 104). The authors concluded that "non-Mormons perceive the Mormon influence, whether real or imagined, as a factor in shaping Utah's schools today" (pp. 115-116). They further explained that "the most common source of reference to Mormons or Mormon ideas was viewed as history courses" (Buchanan & Briscoe, 1975, p. 110). Poll (1987), a Mormon historian, sought to rebut this finding by arguing "the commonest reported complaint [documented in Buchanan and Briscoe's study]—that the required junior high school course in Utah history is full of the Mormons—is as nonrational as a complaint that Irish history is full of Catholics" (p. 334). Buchanan (1996) observed that while discord between Latter-day Saints and others in Utah had mitigated by the mid-1990s, tension still existed—particularly in regard to teaching Utah history.

These divergent perspectives on Utah's history and social studies curricula raise some compelling questions. Are references to Mormon pioneers in the state's textbooks intended to merely tell the story of Utah's colonization and statehood? Or are they meant to legitimize or even celebrate the achievements of early members of the LDS Church? If the authors of the state's textbooks wrote to perpetuate a positive legacy of its Mormon colonizers, how might this underlying purpose affect their treatment of Utah's most tragic

and controversial event, the Mountain Meadows Massacre? The literature on ideology in curriculum is valuable not only because it prompts such questions, but also because it can help to answer them. This literature provides a key component of the theoretical framework I use in my analysis of narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's history and social studies texts. It also informs my answer to the fourth ancillary research question stated above: Based on the findings of this study, how have Utah's history and social studies curricula demonstrated concern for the aims of either social transmission or social transformation?

Multicultural Education Theory

The literature on multicultural education provides the second component of my theoretical framework. Because multicultural education is a dynamic paradigm with multiple dimensions in theory and practice (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997), the review of literature I offer here does not pretend to be exhaustive. Rather, I highlight only a few contributions of this theory that will be helpful in my analysis of narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's history and social studies curricula. First, I define and explore the concepts of social identification and hegemony. Next, I show how these concepts help us understand the construction and prevalence of curricular narratives that serve the interests of dominant groups in society while neglecting the perspectives of minority groups. Finally, I discuss the role of social change and the concept of transformative knowledge to explain how minority perspectives can come to be included in school curriculum.

Social identification, hegemony, and history narratives. Persons often tend to

associate themselves with others by means of similarities in ethnicity, religion, gender, class, nationality, and many other characteristics (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Social identification refers to this desire of individuals to formulate a collective identity with others on the basis of a particular commonality. Barton and Levstik noted that this propensity toward social grouping yields both positive and negative outcomes.

Some form of identification is necessary for democratic life, because without attachment to community, individuals would be unlikely to take part in the hard work of seeking the common good. However, identification does have its drawbacks. When we link ourselves to one community, we often cut ourselves off from others, sometimes with ruinous consequences. Throughout the world, historical identification serves as the basis for repression and violence. (p. 46)

As individuals come to be associated with others through the process of social identification, groups are formed that tend to vie for dominance. The groups that prevail establish and are benefitted by hegemony, which Apple (1979) defined as “the central, effective and dominant system of meanings, values and actions which are *lived*” within a society (p. 5). Through legislation, intimidation, or even blunt force, dominant groups enforce and perpetuate their values, which are frequently informed by self-interest. When this leads to the proscription or repudiation of the rights of others, it results in what John Adams (1788) and Alexis de Tocqueville (2000) characterized as the tyranny of the majority.

While hegemonic groups at times are deliberate in their aims and methods of maintaining power, most often those who benefit from a dominant social position are so thoroughly entrenched in their place of privilege that they may be largely unaware of the advantages they receive due to the prevailing ideology. Apple (1979) asserted that hegemony generally saturates “our very consciousness, so that the educational, economic

and social world we see and interact with” remains, without critical investigation, the only world we know (p. 5). Eisner (2002) observed that a general lack of awareness regarding the privileges afforded to those associated with dominant social groups evidences the potency of hegemony.

It is an arguable case that the most influential ideologies are not those formally acknowledged and publicly articulated, but rather those that are subliminally ingested as part of general or professional socialization. We may be very much more ideological, given this broadened view, than we realize. (p. 51)

As discussed above in my review of the literature on ideology in curriculum, schools typically operate under the direction of those who hold political power. Thus, rather than being sanctuaries from hegemonic influences, schools are satellites of the state and “institutions of cultural preservation and distribution” (Apple, 1979, p. 3). Commenting on how this less perceptible brand of hegemony affects education, Banks (2002) noted that “groups with the most power within society often construct—perhaps unconsciously—knowledge that maintains their power and protects their interests” (p. 11). These groups likewise “influence what knowledge becomes legitimized and widely disseminated” (Banks, 2002, p. 22).

History and social studies texts are particularly susceptible to the forces of hegemony (Segall, 2006). In part, this is because the content of history and social studies curricula often consists of or relies on narratives, or stories (Banks, 1996; Foster, 2006; King, 2004). Barton and Levstik (2004) described narratives as “constructed sequences of events that are both causally related and chronological” (p. 132). The word *constructed* in this definition indicates that narratives are “neither natural nor inevitable” (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 139). Instead, narratives only come into existence as individuals or

groups identify events and link them in cause and effect relationships to produce meaning. Thus, by their very nature, narratives are selective retellings of the past; they do not convey everything that happened, nor can they. Narratives can be misleading in that they involve and promote simplifications in the study of the past (Nash et al., 1997). Walker, Whittaker, and Allen (2001) described this phenomenon as “distortion by omission” (p. 125).

In addition, narratives are necessarily interpretive because the meanings they convey are dependent upon which details are included and how they are portrayed. Accordingly, two narratives of a single event may be given from different perspectives and focus on different details—which in turn may allow entirely different inferences to be drawn (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Zimmerman, 2002). Furthermore, the substance and form of narratives are inevitably influenced by the “personal biographies of [the] historians and social scientists” who construct them, as well as the “social, political, and economic contexts” in which they are created (Banks, 2002, p. 7). In sum, there is no such thing as an unbiased narrative (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Helfenbein, 2002).

History and social studies education provide key opportunities for students to negotiate an array of perspectives, including those from persons whose voices traditionally have been marginalized or excluded from authoritative sources such as textbooks (Camicia, 2007; Parker, 2010). Unfortunately, however, these perspectives are often omitted from the curriculum (Banks, 2002; Nash et al, 1997). Instead, narratives found in history and social studies curricula typically serve the purpose of engendering within students a sense of loyalty and appreciation for the prevailing ideology and the

political institutions that sustain it, thus serving the purposes of social transmission described above (Nash et al., 1997; Stanley, 2010; Zimmerman, 2002). In the U.S., where school populations are becoming increasingly diverse, history curriculum primarily recounts stories that are meant to create a unifying collective memory (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Nash et al., 1997). Narratives promote national identification by using first-person plural pronouns such as *we*, *us*, and *our*. The inclusiveness of this language induces students, regardless of their background or heritage, to identify with the nation's cultural mainstream and adopt a hegemonic perspective of the nation's past (Nash et al., 1997).

Barton and Levstik (2004) observed:

There are certain episodes in history that children...encounter, not once but repeatedly. Nearly every student in the U.S. will learn the story of the Pilgrims and the so-called First Thanksgiving year after year after year. They also are likely to learn about Columbus and his "discovery" of the Americas, about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, about Betsy Ross and the first U.S. flag, and about Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rosa Parks. Far from a random assortment of stories, these historical episodes all function to promote identification with the nation. They tell children how "we" began and how we got to where we are today: Columbus initiated European exploration, the Pilgrims established English settlements, George Washington was the father of our country (and Betsy Ross its mother, as Michael Frish puts it), Abraham Lincoln preserved our nation, and Parks and King brought about racial equality.... These stories are told so that students will identify with the U.S. as a national entity. (p. 50)

Taken together, these individual stories form a dominant, grand narrative of U.S. history. This narrative—which is pervasively and relentlessly reinforced in the nation's schools—is a story of freedom and progress (Barton & Levstik, 2004). However, the promotion of historical identification can cause teachers and students to overlook the complexity of the past and the perspectives of marginalized individuals or groups whose experiences do not fit within the framework of the nation's grand narrative (Foster, 2006;

King, 2004). Because progress in U.S. history often is narrated in terms of colonization, Westward expansion, and industrialization, the negative effects of these activities on persons such as American Indians, slaves, farmers, and manual laborers in many cases are omitted from textbooks (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Loewen, 1996). Kristen Hoerl (2012) referred to these omissions as “selective amnesia, a form of remembrance that routinely negates and silences those who would contest hegemonic narratives of national progress and unity” (p. 178). If marginalized groups do happen to “appear within the country’s national narrative, they do so as obstacles to progress, problems to be solved rather than historical actors at the center of U.S. history” (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 178).

In some cases, a group’s historical perspective may be directly contradicted by the claims of the dominant narrative maintained by the majority. For instance, Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) found that a group of traditionally marginalized citizens, the Oglala Sioux, interpreted history as a quest for survival and persistence in the face of White oppression. Their historical narrative centered on the need to preserve their traditional customs, values, and way of life. Having experienced devastating losses of life, land, resources, freedom, and culture, these Americans were reluctant to espouse the dominant U.S. narrative of freedom and progress.

In another example, Epstein (1998) researched ways African American high school students might view U.S. differently from White students. She found that African American students’ perspectives centered on “African Americans’ struggles for equality, white people’s or the government’s responsibility for racial oppression, and the

contradiction between the ideal and the reality of the inalienability of individual rights historically and in contemporary society” (p. 403).

In contrast to African American students who did not subscribe to the nation’s dominant narrative, European Americans who had most benefitted from the ideology of freedom and progress naturally embraced this ideology.

European-American adolescents constructed historical perspectives that reflected dominant narrative themes about the expansion of democratic rights and rule to ever greater numbers of Americans. They viewed racial oppression as a historical aberration from the nation’s progressive legacy, with no particular group or institution culpable for the causes of racial group inequality. (p. 403)

These studies illustrate the drawbacks of subscribing to a grand, heroic narrative of freedom and progress. In school curriculum, dominant narratives can prevent students from “considering both positive and negative consequences of events” (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 178). Students may become aware that not all aspects of the nation’s past can be assimilated into the grand narrative of freedom and progress, but “that narrative so dominates their thinking that they have no alternative framework within which to make sense of these discrepant experiences” (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 178).

Consideration of the ideological uses of narratives is a key component of the analysis I employ in this study. As I mentioned previously, Latter-day Saints in the first decades of the 20th century sought to alter their public identity as national pariahs, and eventually came to be viewed as “more American than most Americans” (Arrington & Bitton, 1992, p. 184). In doing so they adopted the grand narrative of the U.S. mentioned above. In some Utah textbooks, Mormon pioneers are represented as actors in the story of freedom and progress rather than outcasts from it (J. H. Evans, 1933b; Hunter, 1943,

1960; L. E. Young, 1912). However, by espousing the grand narrative of the U.S. which traditionally has omitted the perspectives of minority groups, Utah textbooks consequently inherited the tendency to view American Indians as “obstacles to progress” and “problems to be solved” (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 178). This concept informs my analysis of how Utah’s history and social studies texts have represented Paiute Indians.

Change in curriculum. Considering the intractable nature of hegemony, it is evident that substantive change in curriculum does not occur spontaneously. How is it, then, that curricular narratives come to include the perspectives and experiences of marginalized peoples? Multicultural education theory offers two responses to this question that also highlight the causes of change in Utah’s history and social studies texts.

First, because curriculum embodies the values of dominant groups in society, curriculum changes as society changes (Nash et al., 1997). Buchanan (1996) asserted that schools and their curricula “mirror the societies that maintain them” because they “tend to follow, rather than precede, social and cultural change” (p. 286). Emigration patterns, emerging opportunities for social mobility, and other shifts in demographics can alter the makeup of hegemonic populations. In addition, large scale events such as war, economic fluctuations, or social arrangements can cause people to evaluate and modify their ideological commitments (Eisner, 2002; Schiro, 2008). For example, the civil rights movement of the 1960s resulted in widespread social change. This change eventually came to be reflected in U.S. history textbooks. Comparisons of history curricula before and after the civil rights movement show that textbooks gradually ceased to perpetuate

blatant racial stereotypes and then began to incorporate positive portrayals of Black Americans and their perspectives of and experiences within U.S. history (Garcia & Tanner, 1985; Hughes, 2007).

A second cause of curriculum reform is the production of transformative knowledge, which Banks (2002) defined as “knowledge that challenges the status quo and the dominant paradigms and explanations within a society” (p. 22). Such knowledge usually is created by scholars and public intellectuals in marginalized communities whose work may be years ahead of a society’s accepted conventions (Banks 2002). These scholars typically possess an “outsider/within” cultural perspective that gives them direct experience with or empathy for minority perspectives and the ability to access and navigate systems for disseminating knowledge among dominant groups (Collins, 2000).

Above I mentioned that widespread social change resulted in the civil rights movement and improved U.S. history curricula. It is also important to recognize the role that transformative knowledge served in this process. The civil rights movement was preceded by the writings of a small number African Americans and White radicals. For generations these scholars labored to challenge the status quo and to provide alternative histories that validated the humanity and contributions of America’s Black population (Nash et al., 1997). The length of time required for these alternative histories to receive popular validation is instructive. In general, mainstream academic communities seldom embrace transformative knowledge as it is first introduced (Banks, 2002). Moreover, even when academics publish new-found data or formulate fresh interpretations and narratives, the history curriculum used in public schools tends to lag significantly behind

historical scholarship (Dunn, 2010; Nash et al., 1997). Because transformative knowledge often remains largely invisible to the larger public, altering widely held myths and misconceptions of the past may require decades (Banks, 2002).

In summary, Multicultural education theory affirms the value of presenting representations of the experiences and viewpoints of all members of a society, not just those who may constitute the dominant group or numerical majority (Banks, 2002). In terms of my analysis of curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's history and social studies texts, this theory offers valuable insights that help explain the long absence of the perspectives of Paiute Indians. In addition, Multicultural education theory provides a paradigm that serves to explain how Paiute Indian narratives eventually came to be included in Utah's public school curriculum.

Postcolonial Theory

In addition to using multicultural education theory, I employ perspectives of postcolonial theory in my analysis of Utah's history and social studies curricula. Below I describe the historical development and general aims of postcolonial theory. I then describe how postcolonial theory can be applied as an analytical tool for understanding American Indians' experiences in connection with the colonization of North America. Finally, I examine Latter-day Saint perceptions of Native Americans and show how postcolonial theory illuminates these perceptions in Utah's history and social studies textbooks written by Latter-day Saint authors.

Postcolonial theory is based on the premise that "most of the world has been affected to some degree" by European imperialism and colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths,

& Tiffin, 2000, p. 1). R. J. C. Young (2003) explained that during the 19th century,

nine-tenths of the entire land surface of the globe was controlled by European, or European-derived, powers. Colonial and imperial rule was legitimized by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves...and requiring the paternal rule of the west for their own best interests. The basis of such anthropological theories was the concept of race. In simple terms, the west-non-west relation was thought of in terms of whites versus non-white races. White culture was regarded (and remains) the basis for ideas of legitimate government, law, economics, science, language, music, art, literature—in a word, civilization. (pp. 2-3)

In the 20th century, European nations and the U.S. gradually retracted their colonialist practices of establishing and expanding their overseas claims to land and resources. However, imperialism continued to spread in the form of Western nations' disproportionate global influence (R. J. C. Young, 2003). The literature of postcolonialism emerged to challenge this phenomenon. While there is no consensus definition of postcolonialism, the literature centers on conceptualizing “the complex condition which attends the aftermath of colonial occupation” (Aschroft et al., 2000, p. 4). In doing so, it rejects the notion that Western cultures are superior to Eastern ways of thinking and being, critiques the language employed in Western nations to describe the peoples originating in such places as Africa, Asia, India, and the Middle East, and promotes the ideals of autonomy and self-representation for those who have been subjected to Western influence (Aschroft et al., 2000; R. J. C. Young, 2003).

Frantz Fanon pioneered the postcolonial movement in 1961 with the publication of his book, *Les Damnés de la Terre*—which was later translated as *The Wretched of the Earth* (Fanon, 1961; R. J. C. Young, 2003). Fanon decried the effects of colonization upon indigenous peoples. He noted that the language of the colonizers represented

conquered peoples as infantile, inferior, and uncivilized. In the course of adopting the language of the colonizers, non-Europeans inherited these demeaning images of themselves, which negatively affected their sense of identity (Fanon, 1961). Furthermore, colonizers controlled schooling and other formal avenues of education, which they used in their favor to alter or obliterate aspects of the history of those they oppressed. Fanon (1961) called for indigenous peoples to recognize and contest these forms of cultural subjugation.

Said (1978) later adopted and expanded many of the themes Franz Fanon introduced. Said made a significant contribution to postcolonial literature with the publication of his book entitled *Orientalism*. He critiqued popular Western representations of other peoples—specifically the people of the Middle East—and argued that these negative portrayals created a basis for the systematic mistreatment of such peoples. Said challenged his colleagues in academia to evaluate the ways in which they wrote about, characterized, and objectified colonized peoples and individuals, whom he termed the “Other” (Said, 1978). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak similarly questioned the race and class blindness evidenced by the Western academy, who traditionally paid homage to the texts of White colonizers while ignoring the perspectives and histories of those whom they subjugated (Ghandi, 1998). In 1985, she added a significant new dimension to postcolonial literature by posing the question, “Can the subaltern speak?” (Sharp, 2008). By subaltern, Spivak referred to subordinated classes and peoples (R. J. C. Young, 2003, p. 6). Even when the perspectives of such peoples received attention from scholars, Spivak questioned how privileged Western intellectuals could adequately

produce authoritative representations of subaltern ways of thinking and being (Gandhi, 1998). Thus, she advocated the value of cultural texts produced by subaltern individuals themselves, including women, immigrants, and the working class (Sharp, 2008).

While the literature on postcolonial theory continues to grow and evolve, the general aims of those who adopt this theory remain relatively consistent. R. J. C. Young (2003) summarized these aims.

Postcolonialism, with its fundamental sympathies for the subaltern, for the peasantry, for the poor, for outcasts of all kinds, eschews the high culture of the elite and espouses subaltern cultures and knowledges which have historically been considered to be of little value but which it regards as rich repositories of culture and counter-knowledge.... It looks at and experiences the world from below rather than from above. Its eyes, ears, and mouth are those of the Ethiopian woman farmer, not the diplomat or CEO. (p. 114)

The colonization of North America. The postcolonial paradigm generally is used to critique global European influence rather than U.S. westward expansion in the 1800s. However, Blackhawk (2008) and Ostler (2004) have demonstrated that postcolonial theory aptly applies to the treatment of American Indian populations in North America. They asserted that the expansion of the U.S. similarly included the establishment of new colonies on lands seized from indigenous peoples who were placed under the rule of European derived power structures (Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004). In this process, U.S. colonizers made use of familiar terms in their subjugation of American Indians, commonly referring to them as savage, primitive, barbaric, heathen, uncivilized, inferior, lazy, and violent (Ostler, 2004). In fact, the term *Indian* still carries relentless stereotypes accumulated over centuries. Warrior (2007) affirmed that this and related terms such as Native American, American Indian, Amerindian, Native, Indigenous, and

First Nations “carry deep and conflicting roots in the history of the Western hemisphere and in the contemporary imaginations and attitudes of those who live in the Americas”

(p. 132). Warrior further explained:

Broad agreement exists that the term “Indian,” referring to people in the Americas, originated in Christopher Columbus’s mistaken idea that he had discovered a new route to India when he arrived in this hemisphere. Since Columbus’s errors of navigation and nomenclature, variations on this term have often been used derisively, as in its bastardized form “Injun” or in its contemporary use in Mexico and other places south of the U.S. to describe people thought of as poor, backwards, and racially disadvantaged. (p. 132)

The denigrating euphemisms White people have used to describe Indians have served an ideological purpose. Deloria (1998) observed, “Savage Indians served Americans as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national Self” (p. 3). Postcolonial theory does not deny the fact that some Indians engaged in violence. But it prompts us to examine the accuracy of generalizations and their underlying motives. For example, Blackhawk (2008) noted that “Indian poverty—masqueraded as ‘wretchedness’ and ‘inferiority’—remained intimately linked to American colonization” (p. 11). Poverty often became a catalyst for violence as Indians were dispossessed of their lands, resources, and food supplies. Under such circumstances, cattle raiding and other acts of aggression “had become integral to survival” (Blackhawk, 2008, p. 261). While emphasizing the violence committed by Indians, many narratives omit or assuage the violence and injustices enacted by White Americans (Blackhawk, 2008; Deloria, 1998).

From the early 19th century through most of the 20th, the U.S. federal government maintained a policy that aimed to accomplish the gradual cultural assimilation of

American Indians (Hoxie, 1984; Spring, 1994). However, since the late 1960s, legislation and court rulings have increasingly underscored the civil liberties of American Indians while affording greater powers of autonomy to individual Indian tribes (Ulrich, 2010). Evidence of this growing deference for the rights and dignity of American Indians is emerging in schools across the U.S. (Sanchez, 2007). The literatures of postcolonialism and multicultural theory appear to be gradually ameliorating textbooks' treatment of American Indian culture and history, eradicating the disparaging terms and dismissive narratives customary of past curricula. Research on U.S. history curricula reveals substantial improvement since the 1960s in the quantity of information devoted to American Indian perspectives (Loewen, 1996; Sanchez, 2007). However, many of the most recent textbooks still evidence a need for greater accuracy, richness and detail in depicting various American Indian histories and cultures (Sanchez, 2007).

American Indians and Latter-day Saints. Latter-day Saints from the 19th century to the present have shared in the general adoption and propagation of stereotypes of American Indians (Mauss, 2003). However, they also have been profoundly influenced by additional beliefs about American Indians set forth in the theology of Joseph Smith (Brooks, 1944; Mauss, 2003). In 1830, Smith published *The Book of Mormon*, which narrates the histories of several different peoples who migrated to the Western hemisphere from the Middle East. The book describes how each of these peoples eventually was annihilated through genocide, with the exception of one group called the Lamanites. *The Book of Mormon* teaches that Lamanites descended from the biblical house of Israel and “are among the ancestors of the American Indians” (LDS, 1981,

Introduction).

By linking American Indians and Lamanites, *The Book of Mormon* has influenced Latter-day Saints' perceptions concerning the identity and destiny of America's indigenous peoples. The book contains multiple prophecies asserting that at some future point Lamanites will come to believe in Jesus Christ, realize their identity as a chosen people, and join in the building of a New Jerusalem in the Americas. Brigham Young (1877) expressed the effect of these teachings on 19th century Latter-day Saints, "There [is] no people—no political party, no religious sect—that places the aborigines of this continent so high in the scale of humanity as we do." Holt (1992) has written that Mormons' "belief that the natives were chosen led to their comparatively mild treatment, by frontier standards, and to their official treatment as wayward children to be slowly civilized and assimilated" (pp. 22-23).

That Mormons and Indians were viewed similarly as social outcasts deemed incompatible with the American cultural mainstream likely strengthened early Latter-day Saints' affinity for American Indians. Both groups also suffered profoundly as a result of being forcibly expelled from their lands (Bennett, 1987; Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004). Brigham Young (1860) taught that American Indians would stand with Mormons as allies against their common oppressors, further evidencing the solidarity he envisioned between his people and American Indians. Young's teaching stemmed from Book of Mormon imagery comparing Lamanites to "a lion among the beasts of the forest," ready to tread down and tear in pieces the enemies of God's people (3 Nephi 20:16; Mormon 5:24). Such imagery informed Brigham Young's hopes that Indians would stand with Mormons

against U.S. federal troops during the Utah War (Bagley, 2002a; Walker et al., 2008).

However, before the Lamanites would rise up to fulfill their prophesied destiny, *The Book of Mormon* describes them disapprovingly as “a dark, a filthy, and a loathsome people...and this because of their unbelief and idolatry” (Mormon 5:15). Thus, American Indians have occupied a tenuous position in Mormon theology. Commenting on Latter-day Saints’ liquid perception of American Indians’ identity, Holt (1992) observed: “Mormon doctrine concerning Indians, or Lamanites, as they are called, is surprisingly dualistic, since the Indians are seen at the same time as both a cursed and a chosen people” (p. 22). O’Dea (1957) explained this divergent view of American Indians by locating it within the Mormons’ own bifurcated identity as both colonists and missionaries. Although many Mormon colonizers sought to live peacefully with Utah Indians, their presence on Indian homelands inevitably generated conflict. Due to in part to the conflict between White Mormons and Utah Indians, the “Lamanite identity of [Utah’s] native peoples came to seem less salient to Mormons than their identity as simply ‘Indians’” (Mauss, 2003, p. 42). During the 19th century, Mormon pioneers and Utah Indians engaged in two protracted struggles: the Walker War of 1854-56 and the Blackhawk War of 1865-68 (Kelley & MacKay, 1994; Turner, 2012). In Utah’s history and social studies textbooks, these conflicts were sometimes presented in conjunction with narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre (Evans, 1933b; Hunter, 1943). In such instances I examine the author’s purpose in assembling these narratives and consider how they represent Utah Indians.

Latter-day Saints have only recently begun to acknowledge how their historical

role as colonizers of the American West left a lasting impact that continues to affect American Indians today. For example, in 2010 LDS Church Historian Marlin K. Jensen spoke frankly about Indian and Mormon relations at a public celebration of the Mormon pioneers' 1847 arrival in the Salt Lake valley. Describing his remarks as "a departure from traditional Pioneer addresses" which typically commemorate the heroism of Mormon colonizers, Jensen (2011) conceded that "the American Indian perspective on that event" has long been overlooked (p. 19; see also Bitton, 1994). He continued by explaining that when Mormons arrived in the Great Basin, "a substantial Indian civilization and culture already existed" (Jensen, 2011, p. 19). Settlement for the pioneers necessarily meant displacement for the region's indigenous peoples, Jensen explained, and "it is important to acknowledge and appreciate the monumental loss this represents on the part of Utah's Indians" (p. 24). He called not only for the inclusion of the perspectives of Utah Indians in the state's history and social studies curricula, but also asked that these perspectives be valued equally with the narratives of Mormon pioneers.

I feel it our duty now...to work until the rest of the story becomes an integral part of *the* story; until [Indian leaders] Sagwitch, Wakara, Washakie, and Little Soldier take their appropriate places in Utah's history books alongside [Mormon leaders] Brigham, Heber, and Parley; until Utah's history includes Indian history and July 24th commemorates everyone's contribution to our state's unique past. (Jensen, 2011, p. 24)

Jensen (2011) concluded his speech by acknowledging that Indians in Utah still "encounter prejudice and intolerance—even in Church settings," and he admonished Latter-day Saints to treat Indians with greater deference and kindness (p. 24).

Understanding the role of early Mormons as colonizers of the Great Basin illuminates the value of employing the literature of postcolonial theory as a key

component of my theoretical framework. This literature informs my analysis of representations of American Indians in Utah's history and social studies texts.

Mormon Historiography

Many of the data sources I examine in this study, including Utah textbooks, scholarly histories, LDS Church curriculum, and historical markers at the site of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, were written by Latter-day Saints. Other writings analyzed in this study were produced by authors holding unfavorable perspectives toward Latter-day Saints. Key aspects of each of these histories reflect trends in Mormon historiography that were prevalent at the time the histories were composed. In using the term *Mormon historiography*, I am referring to any writings—regardless of the religious status or affiliation of their respective authors—that relate to the history of Mormonism. Below I provide a brief overview of the development of Mormon historiography from the establishment of the LDS Church in 1830 through the present. This overview provides background information for my analysis of histories of the Mountain Meadows Massacre written by, for, and about Latter-day Saints.

The same day Joseph Smith officially founded the LDS church, he dictated a revelation in which the voice of God directed church members to keep a record of their history (Jessee, Esplin & Bushman, 2011). Since that time, Joseph Smith and other Latter-day Saint leaders have considered that injunction a sacred duty (Jensen, 2007; Jessee, 1971). Historian J. B. Haws (2010) explained a key reason why Latter-day Saints care deeply about their history.

History for Mormons often plays the role that theology plays for other

religionists. That is, it offers the girders, the framework, on which to build their belief system. That foundation for Latter-day Saints was laid by a series of historical events, and the church's truth claims stand or fall on the reality of those events. Did Joseph Smith really see and converse with God the Father and Jesus Christ? Did an angel named Moroni really lead Joseph Smith to an ancient record written on golden, metallic plates that, when translated providentially, became *The Book of Mormon*? Did John the Baptist and Peter, James, and John from the New Testament really bestow on Joseph Smith and his associate Oliver Cowdery the authority to reconstitute *the* church of Jesus Christ? These, and a litany of similar questions, constitute the critical test of Mormonism.... What no one disputes is that in this drama, history takes center stage. (p. 286)

For Latter-day Saints, the questions Haws raises above ultimately are as concerned with the present as they are with the past. Marlin K. Jensen (2007), LDS Church historian from 2007 to 2012, explained: "The history of the Church's beginnings is...critical to the Church's existence and continued growth and vitality" (p. 31).

From its very beginning, the LDS Church has inspired two types of histories. On one hand, Joseph Smith and his successors appointed church historians who created documentary histories that laced together records of events, revelations, and administrative decisions they deemed important to the vitality of the faith and the governance of the church. Arrington (1992) explained that these early Latter-day Saint historians, who set the tone for traditional Mormon historiography, employed little if any critical analysis in their methods.

They depended, essentially, on the statements of participants and observers, whose testimonies were excerpted and combined, with due regard for their trustworthiness, and 'compiled' into a narrative. Some of the histories were written to prove a theological thesis, such as that the Lord looked after the Saints, punished them when disobedient, and frustrated their enemies. (pp. 3-4)

On the other hand, opponents of Joseph Smith and the LDS Church composed critical histories of the Mormon people that challenged their truth claims. The first book

of this kind, Eber D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled* (1834), was published only 4 years after the LDS Church was founded. The book assailed the character of Joseph Smith, his family, and two of his most prominent followers, Martin Harris and Sidney Rigdon, while claiming to expose the fraudulent origin of *The Book of Mormon* (Howe, 1834). Howe's writings were followed by pamphlets, newspaper stories, and periodical articles that similarly called into question the motives of Joseph Smith and his followers and the authenticity of the religious movement they propagated. For example, Origen Bachelier published a pamphlet in 1838 describing Mormons as "the most vile, the most impudent, the most impious, knot of charlatans and cheat with which any community was ever disgraced and cursed." Historian Richard Bushman (2005) explained that such "critics' writings largely controlled the reading public's image of [Joseph Smith] for the next century," which in turn influenced public perceptions of the church he founded and those who belonged to it (p. 401). Mormons were generally portrayed as sometimes naïve, sometimes vicious devotees of Joseph Smith, who was popularly described as "a combination of knave and blockhead" (Bushman, 2005, p. 401). Bushman elaborated:

No one had to explain what motives drove him. He was a fixed type, the confidence man, well known in the literature of antebellum America. Americans knew all about these insidious scoundrels who undermined social order and ruined the lives of their unsuspecting victims. Joseph Smith became the worst of the type—a religious fraud who preyed upon the sacred yearnings of the human soul. (p. 401)

These writings affected the way Mormons told their story. Commenting on the first generation of Mormon historians, Allen (1987) noted that "much of what they wrote was necessarily defensive in nature, for much, if not most, of what had been written about church history by non-Mormons consisted of bitter and often brutal attacks upon the

church and its founders” (p. 409). Impassioned arguments either criticizing or defending the moral fiber of Joseph Smith continued to characterize writings about Mormonism until Smith’s assassination in 1844. Brigham Young then replaced Smith as the principal lightning rod for the scorn of Mormonism’s detractors as well as the affections of loyal Latter-day Saints.

The polemical contests marking Mormon historiography became even more pronounced after Brigham Young appointed George A. Smith as Church Historian in 1854—a position Smith held for the next 16 years (Bitton & Arrington, 1988). A cousin of Joseph Smith, George A. Smith was affable, gregarious, and widely regarded as one of Mormonism’s most popular public speakers. In his writings and sermons, George A. Smith repeatedly emphasized the cruel and undeserved persecution Latter-day Saints experienced in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois before they were driven out of the U.S. to the sterile Great Basin region. In the stories he told, Smith recited the Saints’ hardships as a foil to highlight their nobility, resourcefulness, and courage (Bitton & Arrington, 1988). “The characteristics of the Latter-day Saints, for Smith, were faith, dedication, courage—in a word, heroism. Withstanding the early persecution was heroic, the trek west was heroic, the settlement of arid lands was heroic” (Bitton & Arrington, 1988, p. 25). Thus, George A. Smith “imbued [Mormon] history with a sense of greatness,” helping his people “to see their history—their trials and strivings, their accomplishments and failures—as part of the divine plan” (Bitton & Arrington, 1988, p. 15). However, critical examination of Smith’s narratives reveals he was clearly selective in his approach to history. Bitton and Arrington explained that “George A Smith’s

accounts of Latter-day Saint history were unquestionably biased” (p. 24), and cited his blanket exclusion of any reference to actions by Latter-day Saint leaders or loyal church members that would help account for the unflagging persecution and turmoil they faced.

George A. Smith’s approach to narrative construction is important because of his enormous influence on Latter-day Saints’ general conception of their history. Bitton and Arrington (1988) explained that in his sermons and writings, Smith “either originated or popularized the basic themes found ever since in those ‘friendly’ and ‘official’ Mormon histories intended for proselytizing, indoctrination, or popular consumption” (p. 15). By the time of George A. Smith’s death in 1875, he and other Latter-day Saint leaders had firmly cemented the exemplary status of the Mormon pioneers in Utah society. Novak and Rodseth (2006) summarized the traditional history written by Latter-day Saints.

What emerges is a grand narrative of trial and triumph, with the Saints depicted as a chosen people who escaped their oppressors to establish an independent kingdom in the desert. Always the victims and never the victimizers, Mormons of the nineteenth century are routinely portrayed as morally heroic and tragically misunderstood. (p. 8)

In addition to influencing written histories, 19th century Mormon leaders such as George A. Smith ignited among their people a cultural process that Davis Bitton has called the ritualization of history. Bitton (1994) explained:

It is easy for historians to assume that people maintain their links with the past primarily through reading histories. Without denying that written histories have enormous influence, especially those used in the schools, it should be recognized that a pervasive, ultimately more important influence in fostering a sense of the past is ritual. I am using this term in a broad sense to refer to the forms and symbols whose function is not primarily the communication of knowledge but rather the simplification of the past into forms that can be memorialized, celebrated, and emotionally appropriated. (p. 171)

In Utah, this ritualization of the past occurred through speeches, public

commemorations, parades, picnics, pageants, and the composition of hymns celebrating the heroic achievements of Mormon pioneers (Bitton, 1994). In addition, Latter-day Saints began erecting historical monuments and markers in the years after the deaths of Mormonism's founding leaders (Bitton, 1994). In 1897, citizens of Utah raised their first monument—a statue of Brigham Young. Other pioneer memorials followed, and their construction hastened after the turn of the 20th century as financial prosperity, leisure time, and opportunities to travel increased (Bitton, 1994). Bitton recorded that the 1930s and 1940s “were a time of almost feverish activity in the erection of monuments and historical markers. The Daughters of Utah Pioneers placed more than 300 of these, while at least 120 were the work of Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association” (p. 178). By the mid-20th century, “the visual representations of Mormon history numbered in the thousands—all contributing to the process of ritualization by establishing a sense of the past that was primarily emotional, appropriable, and not primarily concerned with accuracy” (Bitton, 1994, p. 180). As mentioned previously, such markers can be considered as examples of curricula conveying information to an audience even larger than the public schools (Farmer, 2010).

At the same time Latter-day Saints were disseminating a celebratory version of their history, their detractors continued to write histories for contrary purposes. Shipps (2007) summarized:

Prior to World War II, Saints had by and large written the Mormon story as an account of a true church led by a true prophet versus a hostile world filled to the brim with evil persons and their dupes. Non-Mormons had written the same story from the opposite direction. They said that the church could not be true because its founding prophet was a con man and a fraud whose followers were dupes, ipso facto. As a consequence, two standard accounts of the history of the Saints

existed, an orthodox Mormon version and an orthodox anti-Mormon version. The former was based on the historical evidence that followers of the prophets left behind, the latter on the evidence left by the prophets' disappointed followers and those who never accepted Mormon claims in the first place. (p. 504)

In this battle over the LDS Church's historical identity, Mormon leaders traditionally tended to withhold source materials from the public that they felt were either of a sacred nature or could cause embarrassment or harm to the church's public image (Arrington, 1998; Hafen, 2002; Taylor, 1966). In contrast, critics of the church sought to expose such materials, arguing that they represented sinister truths about Mormonism that its leaders desired to suppress (Haws, 2010).

In the middle of the 20th century, a development occurred in Mormon historiography which has come to be known as the New Mormon History (Rischin, 1969; Walker et al., 2001). This development followed in the wake of the professionalization of U.S. history that began during the 1890s and then flourished in the next several decades with the establishment of history departments at universities across the nation (Bitton & Arrington, 1988; Nash et al, 1997). The movement infected Mormon historiography as young scholars interested in Mormon history were able to receive academic training in the processes of investigating and analyzing historical documents, utilizing interpretive frameworks, asking new kinds of questions, and seeking for new perspectives that went beyond the polemical debate concerning Latter-day Saint truth claims that had characterized Mormon historiography for more than a century (Allen, 1987; Flanders, 1992b).

The principal leader behind this movement was Leonard J. Arrington, a professionally trained Latter-day Saint economist and historian. Arrington desired to

compose history “that would be satisfactory to readers both inside and outside the church,” and he inspired other Latter-day Saint historians to do the same (Shipps, 2007, p. 502). “He believed that could be done effectively if historians would write about the intellectual, spiritual, and practical experience of the Latter-day Saints in human or naturalistic terms without rejecting Mormonism’s divinity” (Shipps, 2007, p. 502).

Arrington (1992) issued the following vision to his colleagues, conveying his views about the New Mormon History.

Our individual and collective authenticity as Latter-day Saints depends on the historians telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about our past. This includes the failures as well as the achievements, the weaknesses as well as the strengths, the individual derelictions as well as the heroism and self-sacrifice. (p. 10)

While Arrington’s statement cited above reveals his anxiety for the “collective authenticity” of his people—the Latter-day Saints—other scholars participated in the creation of the New Mormon History solely for the sake of scholarship with little concern for the reputation of the LDS Church. Contributors have included not only Latter-day Saint historians, but also adherents of the Community of Christ and other denominations, as well as persons with no religious affiliation (Flanders, 1992b, p. 40). Flanders thus characterized the New Mormon History as “more diverse than the old, but also more inclusive,” and optimistically observed that this development in Mormon historiography opened a “middle ground...between those with and those without LDS faith assumptions, with the accompanying possibility of communication between them that does not have to struggle with the *a priori* issue of the legitimacy of the faith assumptions” (p. 40).

In 1972, Latter-day Saint leaders appointed Leonard Arrington as Church

Historian. In the decade Arrington served in this position, he made formerly inaccessible primary documents available for study. The church's archives "consisted of about two thousand diaries and personal histories; almost every book, pamphlet, and magazine article published by or about the church throughout its history, and thousands of minute books, letters, and historical materials" (Arrington, 1998, p. 12). Liberal access to these materials resulted in the publication of "a prodigious amount of scholarly work on Mormon history: twenty-eight books and monographs, approximately two hundred chapters in books and articles in professional journals, and more than one hundred articles in semiprofessional outlets" (Bitton & Arrington, 1988, p. 137). However, this rise in the production of scholarship was paralleled by a rising concern among some senior LDS Church leaders. Boyd K. Packer, a member of the church's second highest governing council—the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles—advised other church leaders that some of the historical writings recently produced might have a negative effect upon the faith of some church members (Tate, 1995). In 1976, Ezra Taft Benson, who later became President of the LDS Church, warned students and faculty at Brigham Young University (which is owned and operated by the LDS Church) of a current trend which sought to "underplay revelation and God's intervention in significant events" in Latter-day Saint history. This trend included "a humanistic emphasis which would tarnish our own Church history and its leaders" (Benson, 1976). Boyd K. Packer declared in 1981 that the explicit purpose of church-sponsored courses on Latter-day Saint history was to build faith, and he instructed church educators not to expose students to details, issues, or questions that might detract from that purpose (Packer, 1981). In 1982, Latter-day Saint

leaders released Leonard Arrington as Church Historian and again made many of the LDS Church's documents inaccessible for public scrutiny (Shipps, 2007).

Arrington's release coincided with the public emergence of another man—Mark Hoffman—whose actions would severely impact Mormon historiography. Hoffman forged a series of documents that purportedly dated to the early 1800s and raised questions concerning the traditional interpretation of several key events related to the truth claims of the LDS Church. The documents not only caused some Latter-day Saints to critically evaluate their religious beliefs, but also engendered an avalanche of negative national news coverage of the LDS Church (Haws, 2010). After Hoffman murdered two individuals while attempting to keep secret the origin of his forgeries, some in the media falsely reported that the LDS Church colluded with Hoffman in the crimes. A book written on this premise, *The Mormon Murders: A True Story of Greed, Forgery, Deceit, and Death* (Naifeh & Smith, 1988), became a New York Times national bestseller (Haws, 2010).

Latter-day Saint leaders enlisted Richard E. Turley, Jr., the managing director of the church's history department, to craft a rebuttal to the claims that some of them had conspired with Hoffman. Turley (1992) produced a book called *Victims* which provided painstaking historical and legal analysis of Hoffman's crimes and exonerated LDS Church officials who had been publicly accused of corruption. Haws (2010) observed that "the church's aggressive response to Naifeh and Smith's attack said something about a change in the way LDS officials might respond to serious affronts" (p. 315). In fact, the production of *Victims* proved to be a watershed event in Mormon historiography. The

book represented the church's new approach to dealing with controversies over its history (Haws, 2010). This approach involved facing difficult issues and questions head on, providing trusted historians access to sensitive sources and documents, and then allowing these historians to present a rational analysis of the matter to the public.

Since the mid-1990s, LDS Church officials have demonstrated increased candor in dealing with controversial historical matters (Haws, 2010). There is growing evidence that these officials believe it is possible to acknowledge "the failures as well as the achievements" of the Mormon past without undermining the truth claims of the LDS Church (Arrington, 1992, p. 10). For example, members of the church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles have worked with Richard Turley to develop new guidelines that allow broad access to the church's archives while protecting the materials deemed to be of a sacred or private nature (Hafen, 2002). In addition, in 2005 LDS leaders allowed the church's bookstore chain, Deseret Book, to heavily promote the sale of a cultural biography of Joseph Smith. Entitled *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (Bushman, 2005), the book deals frankly with some of Smith's personal weaknesses while outlining his remarkable accomplishments in gathering, inspiring, and organizing thousands of followers. Historian Jan Shipps (2007) described *Rough Stone Rolling* as "the crowning achievement of the new Mormon history" and predicted the book will likely "serve as the standard work on Mormonism's coming into being" for years to come (p. 505). Another example of the church's willingness to promote the scholarly study of its history is its launch of the Joseph Smith Papers project. Through this project, the LDS Church is making available a comprehensive, uncensored collection of Joseph Smith documents in

a series of volumes printed by the Church Historian's Press. In the preface to the first published volume, the project's general editors noted: "The documents shed light on many dimensions of Smith's life and personality, his strengths and weaknesses, and the successes and failures of the movement he led" (Jessee, Esplin, & Bushman, 2008).

Although it appears the LDS Church in recent years is becoming more accommodating to the aims of the New Mormon History, the longstanding conflicts in Mormon historiography persist (Shipps, 2007). The development of the New Mormon History over the past six decades has not eliminated the blatantly polemical use of the Mormon past as a tool to support or refute the truth claims of the LDS Church. The debate concerning the reality and meaning of key events in Mormon history begun in the 1830s continues between today's Latter-day Saint apologists and critics of the church (Bushman, 2007).

The Mountain Meadows Massacre and Mormon Historiography

Since the tragic days in September 1857 when 120 Arkansas and Missouri emigrants lost their lives on a Southern Utah prairie, narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have appeared intermittently in the sweep of Mormon historiography described above. In many of these accounts, the narratives appear to be less concerned with the victims than with the issue of culpability. Some of the accounts were constructed to serve the interests of those who perpetrated the atrocity. In other cases, the story of the massacre was primarily used as a vehicle designed for the purpose of either attacking or defending the reputation of the LDS Church as an institution.

Many of the data sources I examine in this study—Utah textbooks, LDS Church curriculum, and historical markers at the site of the Mountain Meadows Massacre—were composed by Latter-day Saints who were and are staunchly devoted to their church and the wellness of its reputation. The massacre presents an enormous challenge to LDS writers desiring to extol the heroism of Mormon pioneers, for “no other event challenges the credibility of this image as does the Mountain Meadows massacre” (Novak & Rodseth, 2006, p. 8). Conversely, other writings analyzed in this study were produced by critics of the church whose analysis of the Mountain Meadows Massacre produced, in their view, indisputable evidence of Mormon depravity. Additional texts, employing the tools of historical scholarship rather than the blunt hammer of polemical debate, nevertheless succeeded in arriving at different conclusions regarding what happened at the Mountain Meadows and why. Because the varying aims and trends in Mormon historiography have inevitably influenced the construction of Mountain Meadows Massacre narratives, the literature on Mormon historiography I have summarized above contributes a key component of my theoretical framework in this study.

Chapter Summary

Competing narratives concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre were circulating as curriculum writers produced the first textbooks on Utah history at the beginning of the 20th century. During the past eleven decades, curricular accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have changed significantly, particularly in how they portray culpability for the massacre. This research documents those changes and seeks to

explain why they occurred by answering the following question: What factors have contributed to changes in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed over time in Utah's history and social studies curricula?

To answer this question, I analyze texts drawn from five different data sources: history and social studies curricula produced for Utah school children; monument narratives; Latter-day Saint church curricula; Paiute Indian accounts; and scholarly histories. My analysis of these texts is guided by four literatures. These are ideology in curriculum, Multicultural education theory, postcolonial theory, and Mormon historiography.

The literature on ideology in curriculum explains how curriculum conveys the values and interests of those who produce, promote, and adopt it. This literature also explains how history and social studies curricula in particular have been designed to be agents of social transmission or transformation. Because Mormons have played a dominant role in colonizing Utah and establishing and administering the state's schools, I draw from the literature on ideology in curriculum as I question whether and to what extent Utah's history and social studies curricula have sought to transmit a celebratory view of Mormon pioneers which, in turn, could affect the manner in which the Mountain Meadows Massacre is portrayed in these texts.

The literature on multicultural education theory helps us understand how history and social studies curricula typically present narratives that serve the interests of dominant groups within societies. In addition, this literature reveals that the perspectives and experiences of minority groups are often omitted from the curriculum. However,

such perspectives and experiences can gain broader acceptance as social change occurs and as transformative knowledge is produced and adopted. Multicultural education theory informs my analysis of the long exclusion of Paiute perspectives from Utah's history and social studies curricula that contain narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. This theory also helps me explain how Paiute narratives of the massacre eventually came to be included in Utah's curriculum.

The literature on postcolonial theory provides a critical lens for examining the subjugation and negative representation of indigenous peoples and cultures by European and American colonizers. This literature helps me frame the colonialist relationship between Mormon settlers and Paiute Indians. Because curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre authored by Latter-day Saints often lay blame for the atrocity with Paiute Indians, it is important in my analysis of these texts that I account for the ways in which Paiutes are portrayed. Characterizations of Paiute Indians as ferocious, savage, and uncivilized align with the findings of postcolonial literature showing that European derived cultures have long denigrated the identities of those whom they have colonized. Negative portrayals of Paiute Indians not only serve to buttress the idea that they indeed were responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but also provide subtle justification for the exclusion of Paiute narratives of the event from Utah's curriculum.

The literature on Mormon historiography underscores the theological and practical significance Latter-day Saints have placed on representations of their past. It also reveals the polemical contests Latter-day Saint apologists and their detractors have

engaged in since the 1830s. While an academically and professionally oriented historiography called the New Mormon History has steadily emerged since the 1950s, interpretations of many subjects in Mormon history continue to be debated—including the Mountain Meadows Massacre. As I analyze narratives of the massacre, the literature on Mormon historiography helps me situate these narratives in a larger framework that suggests why the manner in which the massacre is portrayed has long been a matter of great importance to many different people.

In this study I document changes in narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's history and social studies curricula and explain why these changes occurred. The literatures of ideology in curriculum, multicultural education, postcolonial theory, and Mormon historiography infuse my analysis with distinctive and invaluable perspectives.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

I conducted a content analysis of curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre from the years 1908-2011 and documented changes in how the massacre has been portrayed over time. I also examined other sources of narratives of the massacre originating from the same general period. Based on the theoretical perspectives cited in my review of literature, I hypothesized that ideologies would be evidenced through textbook narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and that these ideologies would be apparent as blame for the tragedy shifted to different groups—White Mormon pioneers, Paiute Indians, or a combination of the two. I conjectured that narratives authored by White Mormons were likely to minimize Mormon involvement by locating responsibility for the massacre with Paiute Indians. On the other hand, I surmised that Paiute accounts were more likely to place culpability with Mormons. By making critical comparisons between the various narratives, I was able to answer the following research question: What factors have contributed to changes in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed over time in Utah's history and social studies curricula? Below I describe my epistemological stance, the research design, the method of content analysis, the data sources and sampling procedures, and the procedures of analysis I used in this study.

Epistemological Stance

The study I have conducted aligns with the critical qualitative research paradigm.

In terms of ontology, this paradigm assumes that human perception of reality is shaped by social, political, cultural, ethnic, and other values that are fluid—meaning they are dependent on historical contexts such as time and place (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). In terms of epistemology, the critical qualitative paradigm assumes that research findings are “value-mediated” (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195) rather than objective. In other words, findings cannot be wholly extracted from the values, experiences, assumptions, and interpretations of the researcher. The ontological and epistemological assumptions undergirding the critical qualitative paradigm inform its methodological approaches to inquiry. These are primarily dialogic and dialectical in nature (Guba & Lincoln, 2005), maintaining the importance of texts and other means of representation as a focus of inquiry, and acknowledging the role of interpretation and the inclusion of reflexivity as crucial components of research (Polkinghorne, 1989; Salner, 1989).

In accordance with the critical qualitative research paradigm, it is appropriate that I disclose my positionality as a researcher. I am a White male and a lifelong participating member of the LDS Church. In addition, I have been employed by the Seminaries and Institutes division of the LDS Church Educational System since 2000. From 2000-2010 I worked as a seminary instructor teaching high school-aged youth the doctrine and history of the LDS Church. From 2010 through the present I have worked as an instructional designer for the Church Educational System. In this role I have written curriculum for use in Seminaries and Institutes. Given my personal and professional background, I have endeavored to be aware of the biases that I bring to this research project. I have also attempted to limit the effect of my biases as I gathered, described, analyzed, and

interpreted data in this study, and as I reported my findings.

The critical qualitative paradigm not only prompts the researcher to acknowledge the biases that may influence one's collection, analysis, and interpretation of data, but also calls for a candid disclosure of the researcher's aims in conducting a study (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). For those who work within this paradigm, the term *critical* signifies a particular set of values that undergirds their research. *Critical* refers to "the detecting and unmasking of beliefs and practices that limit human freedom, justice, and democracy" (Usher, 1996, p. 22). Thus, this paradigm maintains an activist appeal, for it not only critiques historical and structural conditions of injustice or oppression, but seeks to transform those conditions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Consistent with the critical qualitative paradigm, this study is intended not only as an analysis of historical texts, but it also serves as a point of reference to promote the future production of history and social studies curricula in Utah that reflect greater accuracy, sensitivity, and inclusiveness with regard to the perspectives of those who traditionally have been marginalized in the state.

Research Design

The research design I employed for this study is an "embedded, single-case design" (Yin, 1994, p. 40). In this design, a distinct case or topic of study is examined in relation to how it is embedded within a broader social context. This design suits this study, which has sought to account for the ways curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre were embedded in the social context in which they were created. Yin asserted that a single case study "may involve more than one unit of analysis" (p. 42), and

also suggested that units of analysis may be divided into subunits. This study involved five principal data sets, each of which represented a primary unit of analysis. These included: (a) history and social studies curricula produced for Utah school children; (b) monument narratives at the massacre site; (c) LDS church curricula; (d) Paiute Indian narratives of the massacre; and (e) historical scholarship. Subunits within these categories were the individual narratives of the massacre.

In addition to providing a framework for analysis, the embedded, single-case design gave structure to the research by identifying the need to purposefully delimit or bound the case. The texts I studied were delimited by date of publication. I examined data from the period of 1889-20012. The study was also bound by place, inasmuch as I focused on curricular narratives published for use in Utah. An exception to this delimitation of place involved my examination of scholarly histories written for a broader (national or international) audience including—but not limited to—residents of Utah or members of Utah’s dominant religious and social institution, the LDS Church.

Content Analysis

I used the method of content analysis to guide my description, analysis, and interpretation of data in this study. Content analysis calls for systematic examination of textual data. It requires the researcher to explicitly identify and consistently apply a coding schema for the analysis of texts (Krippendorff, 2004). To ensure that my methods of analysis were systematic, I used a uniform coding sheet to direct my description, analysis, and interpretation of each text. This coding sheet is included in the Appendix.

The method of content analysis can be used for either quantitative or qualitative analysis of data. Consistent with my research paradigm and design, I used this method for qualitative analysis. Holsti (1969) identified six aims of qualitative content analysis. The first aim concerns the authorship of a text, including consideration of how biographical subjectivities may affect the content of a text. The second aim focuses on the author's purpose in creating the text. The third is to consider the form of communication (e.g., textbook, monument narrative, DVD transcript). The fourth goal is to examine what is actually communicated in a text. Fifth, content analysis takes into account the audience for whom the text was created, and how this may affect the substance and style of the text, including what may be included or excluded. Finally, a sixth goal of content analysis is to consider the effect of the message. In my analysis of narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, I employed each of these aims of content analysis, with particular emphasis on the fourth objective—examining what is actually communicated in the body of a text.

Data Sources and Sampling Procedures

Document collection represented the sole means of gathering data for this research project. Purposeful sampling guided my efforts to identify pertinent documents to include in this study. Purposeful sampling was an appropriate strategy for this research because it emphasizes selecting information-rich cases for study in depth (Patton, 2002). I drew from five different data sources to provide information regarding how and why narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre changed with time in Utah history and

social studies curricula. These included: (a) Utah history and social studies curricula, (b) monument narratives at the massacre site, (c) LDS Church history curricula, (d) Paiute Indian histories of the massacre, and (e) scholarly histories. Each of the individual texts included in this research falls within one of these five categories, and was selected because it contains either a specific narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, or a general narrative of Utah history including the year 1857 when the massacre occurred. It is important to acknowledge that narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre are available through other media as well, including scholarly journals, films, television documentaries, podcasts, and dramatic scripts. However, I decided to exclude these other sources of narratives as data sources for this study. Below I describe each of the data sources I chose to draw from, explain my rationale for using these particular sources, and outline the sampling procedures I used to identify pertinent texts for this study.

Utah History and Social Studies Curricula

The primary data sources for this study are secondary Utah state history and social studies curricula. I utilized resources at Utah State University's Merrill-Cazier library, including special collections, to identify every history and social studies curriculum published for Utah school children during the years 1890-2012. I designated 1890 as a starting point for document collection because that year marked the transfer of the supervision of schooling throughout Utah from the jurisdiction of the LDS Church to the territorial government (Alexander, 1986; Randall & Wilson, 2008). Educational materials originating after 1890 therefore represent the first of their kind, written by and for Utah's hegemonic Latter-day Saint population within the parameters of a public

school system administered by democratically elected officials and funded through taxes.

Within Utah's public school system, the study of state history largely occurs in the fourth and seventh grades. While examining the fourth grade texts, I discovered that they typically did not mention the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and I therefore excluded these materials as data sources for this research project. Conversely, texts created for seventh grade and high school students in most cases did address the massacre. Because it was common practice to treat the Mountain Meadows Massacre in textbooks written for older children, I decided to include all secondary Utah history and social studies texts as data sources for this study—including those that did not make a direct reference to the massacre. Based on these procedures, I identified twelve textbooks as data sources for this study. The titles, authors, and publication dates for these are as follows: *The Making of a State* (Whitney, 1908); *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah* (L. E. Young, 1912); *The Story of Utah, the Beehive State* (Evans, 1933b); *Utah in Her Western Setting* (Hunter, 1943); *The Utah Story* (Hunter, 1960); *Utah Grows: Past and Present* (Buttle, 1970); *Utah's Heritage* (Ellsworth, 1972); *The New Utah's Heritage* (Ellsworth, 1985); *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* (Holzapfel, 1999); *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* (revised edition; Holzapfel, 2002); *The Utah Journey* (Holzapfel, 2008); *The Utah Story: The People, Places, and Events That Shaped Our State* (Sorensen, 2011). I contacted officials at the Utah State Office of Education to learn the extent to which these texts were adopted for use. Unfortunately, they were unable to provide me with that information. However, a specialist in history and social studies curricula at the state office reviewed the list of textbooks above and told me he believed the list was complete.

Therefore, the sampling procedures I have employed have led me to believe that the twelve books cited above represent a comprehensive data set of secondary Utah history and social studies textbooks. In my analysis of these texts in Chapter IV, I noted which of them were reissued through multiple printings when this information was available in the front pages of the books. I interpreted multiple printings of a text as evidence of its widespread use in Utah.

In addition to the textbooks mentioned above, I identified a curriculum issued in 2009 that consists of supplemental materials published on the Internet through a partnership of the Utah Division of Indian Affairs and the University of Utah's American West Center (We Shall Remain: Utah Indian Curriculum Project, 2009). These materials were sponsored by the Utah State Office of Education as well as Utah's American Indian nations, and were meant to be used in conjunction with a DVD produced by PBS containing Native American perspectives on various historical events of the American West, including the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The DVD contains oral histories of the massacre from two Paiute Indians. I included transcripts of these materials as data sources.

Monument Narratives

Like school curricula, historical monuments and markers are valuable cultural indicators that can be used to gauge popular awareness and acceptance of historical events (Bitton, 1994; Farmer, 2008; Nash et al., 1997). In this study I included transcripts of texts associated with each of the four different markers that have existed at the site of the Mountain Meadows Massacre since 1890. The markers were erected in the years

1932, 1990, 1999, and 2011. Narratives on the markers were accessed through written transcriptions found on the website of the Mountain Meadows Association (n.d.). The monument narratives provided important points of comparison and contrast relative to the content of curricular accounts of the massacre.

Latter-day Saint Church Curricula

I also collected data from LDS Church curricula. The rationale for this data source was based on my theoretical framework which considers the influence of hegemony upon historical narratives (Apple, 1979; Banks, 2002). Because White Mormons have constituted Utah's politically dominant population since the 1850s, official LDS sources conveying narratives of the massacre comprise important materials to serve as counterpoints of my analysis of school curricula.

To locate LDS Church curricula, I searched an online database called Studies in Mormon History (<http://sites.lib.byu.edu/mormonhistory>), which includes citations to articles, books, theses, and Ph.D. dissertations dealing with the history of the LDS Church. I also consulted the LDS Church History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah to locate sources. While examining the sources, it became apparent that some histories of the LDS Church, such as *Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (LDS, 1996), were written for the church's global membership and do not cover in depth 19th century Utah history. I excluded such sources from this study. The LDS Church curricular sources I included in this study are those which cover in some detail the period of the Utah War in 1857-1858 and provide a narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The LDS Church curricular sources were fewer in number than

school curricula or scholarly histories because of their longevity. Several LDS Church history texts went through numerous reprintings and were used as curriculum in the church for a series of decades. Following are the LDS Church curricula included in this study: *Essentials in Church History* (J. F. Smith, 1922); *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Roberts, 1930); *The Restored Church* (Berrett, 1936); *The Kingdom of God Restored* (Grant, 1955); *Church History in the Fullness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (LDS, 1989); “The Mountain Meadows Massacre” (Turley, 2007).

Paiute Histories

Although Paiute Indians are mentioned in some way in virtually every published history that presents a narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, very few of these histories include Paiutes’ perspectives of the event. In keeping with the multicultural theoretical perspective which values the voices of persons and groups that have been marginalized or excluded, I incorporated Paiute Indian perspectives in this study. However, securing a breadth of Paiute sources was problematic for at least three reasons. First, the population of Paiute Indians in Utah was largely decimated in the decade following the massacre (Tom & Holt, 2000). Second, Paiutes had an oral culture. With the decimation of the tribe, some of its oral history also perished (Tom & Holt, 2000). Third, very little interest was shown in recording Paiute history, particularly as it pertained to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, until the latter half of the 20th century, some twelve decades after the massacre occurred (Bagley, 2002a).

To locate Paiute Indian narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, I

consulted a variety of sources. First, I searched the website of the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (<http://utahpaiutes.org/>). While this site provided no sources on Paiute perspectives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, it contained a link to historytogo.utah.gov which did provide such sources. I also searched another online source called the Utah American Indian Digital Archive (<http://utahindians.org/archives/>), which provided leads to additional Paiute narratives. Next, I consulted the comprehensive bibliography compiled by Walker and colleagues (2008), which included a number of Paiute sources. Finally, using the keyword *Paiute*, I did an electronic search of Utah State University's Merrill-Cazier Library. These efforts produced a substantial list of Paiute histories. I searched each of these histories individually to determine which contained narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. This winnowing process yielded the following sources, which I have listed chronologically by date of publication: *Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History* (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976); *The Southern Paiutes: Legends, Lore, Language, and Lineage* (Martineau, 1992); *The Paiute Tribe of Utah* (Tom & Holt, 2000); *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* (Hebner, 2010).

Historical Scholarship

I identified professional historians' treatments of the Mountain Meadows Massacre to compare and contrast school curricula with concurrent scholarship. Because professional histories are typically based on primary sources, inclusion of the histories allowed a deeper analysis of curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. I compared curricular narratives of the massacre with changing historical evidence and interpretations of the massacre as they emerged over time.

I began the process of identifying scholarly sources by consulting the topic *Mountain Meadows Massacre* in the online database Studies in Mormon History. Upon examining the results, I recognized that books would be more helpful than publications in scholarly journals for two reasons. First, my intent in locating scholarly research on the massacre was to discover data sources that likely influenced the construction of Mountain Meadows Massacre narratives in Utah's history and social studies curricula. The books I identified provided narratives of the massacre that could be compared to the narratives found in the other data sets employed in this study. In contrast, scholarly articles tended to treat specific aspects of the massacre rather than provide narratives of it. Second, I selected books because they tended to have larger circulation—and therefore greater popular influence—than scholarly journals.

Among the books I examined, I saw that professional histories of the Mountain Meadows Massacre are of two general types. The first type includes historical monographs, which are entire volumes dedicated solely to providing a narrative and/or analysis of the massacre. I included each of these texts in this study. The second type of professional history dealing with the Mountain Meadows Massacre includes general histories of Utah. Because a great number and variety of such histories have been published, I sought to identify only the most influential histories published for inclusion in this study. Bench's (1990) article "Fifty Important Mormon Books," as well as Topping's (2003) treatise on Utah historiography, *Utah Historians and the Reconstruction of Western History*, helped me identify which general histories have had the greatest circulation and impact within Utah.

I decided to include scholarly sources predating 1908, which is the year Utah's first history textbook was published. This allowed me to incorporate two landmark works on Utah history in this study—Bancroft's (1889) *History of Utah* and Whitney's (1892-1904) *History of Utah*. Following are the other scholarly histories I identified, listed chronologically by date of publication: *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Gibbs, 1910); *The Founding of Utah* (L. E. Young, 1923); *Utah and the Nation* (Creer, 1929); *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Anderson, 1942); *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Brooks, 1950); *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime* (Wise, 1976); *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Allen & Leonard, 1976); *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Bagley, 2002a); *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (Denton, 2003); *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (Walker et al., 2008). In addition to these monographs and histories of Utah, I included a recent biography of Brigham Young because it contained a narrative of the massacre as well as helpful analysis of some of the works cited above. This book is entitled *Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet* (Turner, 2012).

Procedures

Description, Analysis, and Interpretation of Individual Narratives

Wolcott (1994) set forth the procedures of description, analysis, and interpretation as means of utilizing data to answer one's research question. I followed this pattern as I examined and compared the narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre selected for

this study. I began my description of each text by relating its title and form, the date and place of its publication, and relevant information about the publisher. I also stated the name of the author(s) and reported available biographical information. Next, I documented statements concerning the author's purposes in composing the text, including information concerning his or her intended audience. In many cases, this information was given in the preface or introduction to the text. Where applicable, I also sought to determine the dissemination and use of each text. With regard to published texts, I noted how many printings the book went through.

After recording these details about the production, purpose, and use of each text, I described the text's narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Wolcott (1994) suggests that during the descriptive phase of discovery the researcher ask, "What is going on here?" (p. 12). In content analysis, this initial inquiry is accompanied by systematic coding of the texts and memo writing (Glesne, 2006; Krippendorff, 2004). Accordingly, I coded and documented key narrative components in each account of the massacre. In the case of history and social studies curricular texts, I began by noting the ratio of pages dedicated to the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in relation to the total pages of text within the book. Next, I examined the heading under which each narrative of the massacre was included to learn how the author situated (or failed to situate) the narrative in a larger historical and social context. Specifically, I looked for information concerning the persecution of Latter-day Saints prior to the occurrence of the massacre in 1857, including mention of the murders of Mormon leaders Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and Parley P. Pratt. I also described other contextual details including the Mormon

Reformation, rhetoric on blood atonement, vigilantism in Utah, the reported causes of the Utah War, the nature of the relationship between Mormon settlers and Paiute Indians, and the purposes for which Brigham Young dispatched George A. Smith to southern Utah just weeks before the massacre occurred.

In addition to describing these contextual details, I recorded each narrative's depiction of the three main parties—the Baker-Fancher emigrant wagon train, Paiute Indians, and Mormon settlers—in terms of character. First, I recorded depictions of the Baker-Fancher party, including their disputes with Mormon settlers over the sale of grain, reports of their insults toward the Mormons and their leaders, and their alleged crime of poisoning a spring and beef carcass that led to the deaths of several Indian men and a Mormon boy. Next, I recorded portrayals of Paiute Indians, including representations of them as peaceful or violent and their alleged desire for revenge over the alleged poisoning incident. In some texts, narratives of the massacre were included in thematic chapters that relate conflicts between Mormon settlers and Utah Indians—and focus on Indian violence. In such cases, I described the general representations of Utah Indians that are presented. Finally, I described the character of Mormon settlers as set forth in each text. In particular, I noted which Mormon settlers were named, what positions they held, and how the relationships of power among them were described. As part of this process, I recorded each narrative's description of Brigham Young, the titles he held, and the instructions he sent to Mormon leaders in southern Utah through a letter carried by James Haslem. Besides documenting character portrayals of the three main parties discussed above, I logged any explicit statements in each text that either assigned

culpability for the massacre to one of the parties or dismissed them from responsibility. I also noted the images and captions accompanying each narrative of the massacre.

After describing the data above, the next phase of discovery involved analysis. This phase entailed examining in greater detail the key components of the narratives and the interrelationships among them (Glesne, 2006; Wolcott, 1994). As I stated in Chapter II, my principal purpose in examining narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre is to determine how they represent culpability for the event. Therefore, in my analysis, I made an initial judgment of the text in terms of how it portrays culpability for the massacre based on the descriptive data I mentioned above. Next, I specifically examined the coded narratives for explicit and implicit evidence of either or both Mormon and Paiute levels of involvement, degrees of culpability, and motives for participating in the massacre. Identifying the inclusion or exclusion of the key narrative components mentioned above provided a basis for my analysis. For example, the inclusion of the Mormons' collective experiences with violence prior to the massacre generally served the ideological purposes of various narratives in one of two important ways. In many instances, it either was used to depict Latter-day Saints of that era as perennial victims, or it was employed to set up a narrative in which the Mormons committed the Mountain Meadows Massacre as an act of vengeance. On the other hand, narrative representations of Indians as savage and ferocious typically culminated in placing culpability for the massacre with Paiutes. The quantity of attention given to a particular party or individuals in a narrative likewise suggested evidence of the assignment of culpability. For instance, a narrative's emphasis on the terms *White* or *Mormon* tended to correlate with decreased

emphasis on *Paiute* or *Indian*. Similarly, within the range of Mormon culpability, emphasis on John D. Lee often shifted emphasis away from Brigham Young. In cases where the narrative acknowledged Mormons' involvement in the massacre, the naming and description of Latter-day Saint leaders provided a basis for understanding the degree of culpability the narrative assigned to the LDS Church as an institution. As I noticed new claims or key omissions in the text that related to culpability, I took these into account which allowed me to adjust the location of the text based upon iterative patterns of analysis and categorization.

After describing each narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and subjecting it to this iterative process of analysis, I interpreted it in terms of asserting culpability for the massacre. Wolcott (1994) noted that interpretation occurs as a researcher “transcends factual data and cautious analysis and begins to probe into what is to be made of them” (p. 36). I measured culpability principally in terms of who was alleged to have instigated the massacre rather than who was generally involved, because instigation has traditionally been a key point of contention with regard to this episode (Bagley, 2002a; Brooks, 1950; Walker et al., 2008). I then scored the narrative according to a culpability matrix I developed for this study. The matrix is a two-dimensional figure containing an x and a y axis. The y axis presents a continuum of culpability with six general categories. I describe these as general categories because narrative details and nuances may differ in accounts assigned to the same category. The categories and the culpability matrix itself are, therefore, inherently limited. While they cannot convey the specific distinctions in narratives that are grouped together, they are helpful for their

ability to efficiently communicate significant differences in the narratives. The categories within the culpability matrix are as follows.

- Mormons solely responsible; no Paiutes assisted
- Brigham Young responsible; Mormons and Paiutes participated
- Local Mormons primarily responsible; Paiutes assisted
- Paiutes and local Mormons equally responsible
- Paiutes primarily responsible; Mormons assisted
- No assertion of culpability

The category at the base of the matrix is designed to account for texts that either do not mention the Mountain Meadows Massacre, or mention the event but make no assertion of culpability. Moving upward, the next category includes narratives suggesting Paiute Indians were primarily responsible for the massacre, but were assisted by White Mormons. This category includes narratives that allege Paiutes instigated the massacre and forced John D. Lee and other White Mormons to participate. It also includes narratives that assert Paiutes instigated the massacre, and John D. Lee and other White Mormons merely joined in the atrocity of their own accord. The next category accounts for texts that indicate Paiute Indians and local White Mormons of southern Utah were equally responsible for the massacre. These narratives suggest Paiutes as well as Mormons were involved in the event, but make no assertion concerning which of the two groups instigated it. Moving upward, the three remaining categories incrementally depict increasing degrees of Mormon culpability. The category fourth from the bottom comprises narratives that indicate White Mormons of southern Utah instigated the

massacre, but were assisted by Paiute Indians. The next category includes narratives suggesting that White Mormons and Paiute Indians participated in the massacre, but Mormons acting under orders from Brigham Young orchestrated the crime. At the top of the matrix is the category accounting for narratives that indicate White Mormons were solely responsible for the massacre, and no Paiute Indians were involved in any way. Some narratives in this category implicate Brigham Young as having ordered the massacre; others make no assertion of the Mormon leader's alleged complicity.

Missing from this culpability matrix is a category for narratives suggesting Paiute Indians were solely responsible for the massacre, and no Mormons participated. I did not include this category because, based on my research, no narrative of the massacre printed since 1890 has made this assertion.

In addition to displaying culpability ratings along the y axis, the table contains an x axis representing a timeline moving from left to right. The x axis is labeled with each of the 13 decades from 1890 to 2010. This continuum allowed me to chronologically chart publications of narratives. The y and x axes together demonstrated changes in direction over time concerning how culpability for the Mountain Meadows massacre has been represented.

To illustrate the procedures, I followed to describe, analyze, and interpret each text, I include a sample of that process here. The first textbook account I examined is Orson F. Whitney's *The Making of a State*, published in Salt Lake City by the Deseret News—the printing entity of the LDS Church. This textbook was the first history of Utah written for use by the state's secondary students. Whitney was the grandson of prominent

first generation Mormon leaders Heber C. Kimball and Newel K. Whitney (Bitton & Arrington, 1988). He became a regent of the University of Deseret (now the University of Utah) in 1884, and was named as its chancellor two years later. Whitney also had worked as an assistant historian at the Church Historian's office, and in 1902 he was elected president of the new Utah State Historical Society (Bitton & Arrington, 1988). At the time Whitney published *The Making of a State* in 1908, he was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the second highest governing council in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In his preface to this volume, Whitney (1908) explained his "intention to prepare a History of Utah suitable for use in the grammar grades of the public schools. A text book for children, it was to be plain, simple, and direct in diction, a story briefly and tersely told, dealing fairly and impartially with all classes and persons concerned" (p. i). Continuing the explanation for his approach to historiography, Whitney noted: "Of necessity, the historical narrative is very much abridged, yet care has been taken to include all essential facts and features, especially those of a permanent character, educative and elevating in their influence, and closely connected with the founding and development of the State" (p. i). Whitney's explanation that the narrative of this textbook is abridged is literal. The book was derived from Whitney's massive four volume *History of Utah*, published in 1892. My analysis of that text is included in chapter 6 of this study.

In the opening pages of his book, Whitney (1908) cited Senator Daniel Webster's description of the Great Basin region as a vast, worthless area and a region of savages and wild beasts. Whitney then exclaimed:

Yet it was to the very heart of “this vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts,” that the Pioneers of Utah made their way. Here, upon Mexican soil, in the midst of the Great American Desert, they lifted the Stars and Stripes and laid the foundations of an American State. (p. 13)

The early chapters in *The Making of a State* recount the Mormons’ exodus from the U.S. and their arrival in Utah. Whitney situated the Mountain Meadows Massacre in its historical context, which included the Utah War of 1867-1858. Of 318 total pages of text, Whitney dedicated one and a half pages to the topic of the massacre. The massacre narrative appears in Chapter 8, entitled “Utah Under Martial Law” (p. 94). The Utah War is characterized as “a misunderstanding with the government” that resulted from false charges Judge William W. Drummond and others levied against Brigham Young and the Mormons (Whitney, 2008, p. 94). Whitney did not fault the government for sending the army, and even suggested the Mormons overreacted; “In their excited state of mind, dwelling upon painful and bitter memories, it looked to them like a movement for their destruction, or at least expulsion from their hard-earned homes” (p. 100). Consequently, the Mormons prepared for armed conflict, even as Brigham Young met with Captain Stewart Van Vliet, who rode ahead of the troops to discuss the army’s intentions with Young. Whitney’s (1908) narrative of the massacre then begins:

At this very time was perpetrated, in a far-away corner of the Territory, that horrible deed, the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the most deplorable event in the history of Utah. It occurred on the eleventh of September, while Captain Van Vliet was still at Salt Lake City; but the news did not reach this point until nearly three weeks later, and even then the awful tale was not fully told. It was not a day of railroads and telegraphs, and the scene of the massacre was three hundred miles from the Territorial capital, in an Indian country, beyond the outskirts of civilization.

According to the facts now known, a company of emigrants from the State of Arkansas was passing through Utah in the summer and autumn of 1857. They

were traveling by what was known as ‘The Southern Route,’ which led from Salt Lake City through Fillmore, Beaver, Parowan and Cedar City. There, turning southwest, it crossed the desert to Southern California. The travelers had passed the last Utah settlement, and were encamped at Mountain Meadows, thirty or forty miles beyond, when there were set upon by a large band of Indians led by John D. Lee, and slaughtered without mercy. Lee was a farmer among the red men, and had great influence over them. Other white men also took part in the killing. The slain numbered one hundred and twenty. Seventeen small children were spared, and were afterwards returned to Arkansas.

Two weeks and four days later, Lee reported the massacre to Governor Young, in person. The Governor was horrified, and wept at the recital. Lee laid the blame entirely upon the Indians, declaring that no white men were engaged in the affair; and for a long time it was believed that the savages alone were responsible. Gradually, however, the truth leaked out, and the chief criminal was brought to justice and paid the penalty of his crime. (pp. 103-104)

Whitney’s (1908) narrative also provided a footnote containing the following text:

Lee was tried in the District Court at Beaver. One of his confederates—Philip Klingensmith—turned states evidence and testimony against himself and his former associate. Klingensmith was released, but Lee was sentenced to be shot, and was executed at Mountain Meadows, March 23, 1877. Others implicated in the massacre were fugitives from justice for many years, and finally died in exile. (p. 104)

Viewing this early textbook account through a theoretical lens concerned with ideology in curriculum, several points of interest become apparent. First, this textbook was authored by a prominent Latter-day Saint ecclesiastical leader and published by the LDS Church 18 years after a law was passed mandating free public schooling in Utah (Poll, 1978; Szasz, 1988). The publication and use of the textbook indicates the significant influence the LDS Church held in the realm of public education in early 20th century Utah.

Whitney’s (1908) statement that he intended to “include all essential facts and features...closely connected with the founding and development of the State” (p. i), and

his subsequent treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, suggests the massacre was then regarded as a significant event in Utah's history. In addition, his statement exulting Mormon pioneers as conquerors of a vast "region of savages and wild beasts" (p. i) reveals Mormons to be the singular protagonists of his book.

In his narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Whitney (1908) did not mention the alleged offenses of the Fancher-Baker party prior to their demise. There is no discussion of the emigrants poisoning a water hole or beef carcass, or spewing verbal abuse against the Mormons. Indeed, Whitney offers no motive for the attack upon the emigrants.

Instead of focusing on causes of or justifications for the massacre, Whitney's (1908) narrative immediately condemned the atrocity as "horrible" and "deplorable" (p. 103). Such adjectives are intended to convey the values of the narrative's author as well as the larger community he both represented and addressed. At once the reader understands Whitney's contention that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was not sanctioned by the LDS Church, either when it occurred or at the time Whitney wrote his narrative. Furthermore, a number of other details reveal Whitney's intent to disassociate the massacre from Utah's hegemonic population. One such detail is his emphasis on space. Whitney notes the physical distance of the massacre from Salt Lake City—the Mormon capital—as well as its location outside the realm of civilization. Situating the event in a political no-man's land beyond the final post of Utah governance, and emphasizing the lack of communication via telegraph or railroad, Whitney underscores the idea that the atrocity had no connection to the larger Mormon community. This is

further accentuated by the inclusion of details regarding Brigham Young's knowledge of the massacre. Lied to at first, Young later wept upon hearing the truth of the matter. According to this narrative, the Mormon prophet certainly bore no blame for the massacre.

Having distanced Brigham Young from any responsibility for the massacre, Whitney (1908) targeted John D. Lee as “the chief criminal” (p. 104) who instigated the deed, but mentions that other White men participated. Indians—characterized as uncivilized and merciless “red men” and “savages” (p. 104)—are implicated as Lee's primary accomplices, but are also portrayed as victims for having borne excessive blame. The epithets “red men” and “savages” suggest Whitney possessed a colonialist perspective of American Indians, which in turn explains why he did not include Paiute perspectives of the massacre in his narrative (Ghandi, 1998; Ostler, 2004). Ultimately, Whitney provided resolution to his narrative by suggesting justice was meted out through the eventual deaths John D. Lee and other unnamed White perpetrators of the atrocity. As shown on Figure 1 (shown in Chapter IV), I interpreted Whitney's *The Making of a State* as representing White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

Analysis of Each of the Five Data Sets

In Chapter IV, I repeated these procedures for each narrative within the data set of Utah public school curricula. I then repeated the same procedures for the data sets of monuments narratives, LDS Church curricula, and Paiute Indian narratives, and included these in chapter 5. Because of the large quantity of scholarly narratives, I treated these

narratives apart from the others in chapter 6, following the same procedures described above. In addition to describing, analyzing, and interpreting each narrative, I wrote a summary at the end of each data set that included my analysis of relationships between the narratives within the data set, particularly with reference to the direction of culpability over time. Using the theoretical lens drawn from the literatures of ideology in curriculum, multicultural education theory, postcolonial theory, and Mormon historiography, I made initial inferences regarding how and why narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre changed with time.

For each data set I created a figure displaying the culpability matrix described above. With the addition of data, these figures became scatterplots depicting trends in the ways culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been represented over time. To clearly show these trends, I used statistical software to add a locally weighted polynomial regression or LOESS (Cleveland & Devlin, 1988) curve to the figures. However, because of the small number of data plots on Figure 2 (shown in Chapter IV), which depicts my interpretations of monument narratives of the massacre, I did not add a LOESS curve to that figure.

Analysis of the Five Data Sets Combined

Chapter VII contains my findings, their significance, and the conclusion to this study. In the findings section, I responded to the first two ancillary research questions as well as the principal research question guiding this study: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula? The findings section includes Figure 6, which shows a

scatterplot depicting all the data without reference to the data sets. The LOESS curve in this figure represents the general trend in how culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been represented over time.

To answer my research question, I expanded my analysis and interpretation of the data by exploring possible relationships between the five data sets mentioned previously. To facilitate this process, I included Figure 7 (see Chapter VII), which, like Figure 6, plots data points for each narrative analyzed in this study. However, in Figure 7 the data points are color coded according to the data set they represent. Figure 7 also shows corresponding LOESS curves for each of the data sets except for monument narratives. The figure thus reveals similarities and differences in direction regarding culpability for the massacre as it has been portrayed in different sources over time.

The information on Figure 7 helps me answer my second ancillary research question: How does culpability for the massacre in public school curricular narratives compare to culpability as portrayed in the following sources: monument narratives, LDS curricular narratives, Paiute Indian narratives, and historical scholarship? By referencing this data and employing theory to make appropriate inferences therefrom, I was able draw conclusions that allowed me to answer the principal research question concerning what factors have influenced changes in curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadow Massacre over time.

Chapter Summary

This is a critical qualitative study of narratives of the Mountain Meadows

Massacre in Utah's public school curricula printed between the years 1908-2011. In this study I documented changes in how the massacre has been portrayed over time, and have sought to explain why those changes occurred. To do so, I have examined narratives of the massacre from five data sets: Utah's history and social studies curricula; monument narratives at the Mountain Meadows, LDS Church curricula, Paiute Indian narratives, and historical scholarship. Employing the method of content analysis, I systematically coded each narrative in the data sets mentioned above, looking for ways culpability is portrayed. As shown in Chapters IV-VI, I described, analyzed, and interpreted each narrative, assigned it a culpability rating, and depicted this rating on a figure to show trends in how culpability has been portrayed over time. In Chapter VII, I analyzed and interpreted the data sets together. By making critical comparisons between the various narratives, I was able to answer the following research question: What factors have contributed to changes in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed over time in Utah's history and social studies curricula?

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF UTAH'S PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULA

As previously indicated, I extracted data from five different data sets in order to answer my research question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's history and social studies curricula? In this chapter I describe, analyze, and interpret narratives from the primary data set—Utah public school curricula.

In Chapter III, I included my description, analysis, and interpretation of Utah's first history textbook, *The Making of a State* (Whitney, 1908), to demonstrate the methodology I employed in this study. As illustrated on Figure 1, I interpreted this text as presenting White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting. Below I have repeated this process for the remaining 12 history and social studies curricula that have been used in Utah since 1912. This process has allowed me to document how curricular narratives have changed over time in their portrayal of culpability for the massacre.

History and Social Studies Curricula Reviewed

Chief Episodes in the History of Utah (L. E. Young, 1912)

This brief textbook—only 51 pages long—was published by The Lakeside Press in Chicago. The author, Levi Edgar Young, identified himself in the preface as “a

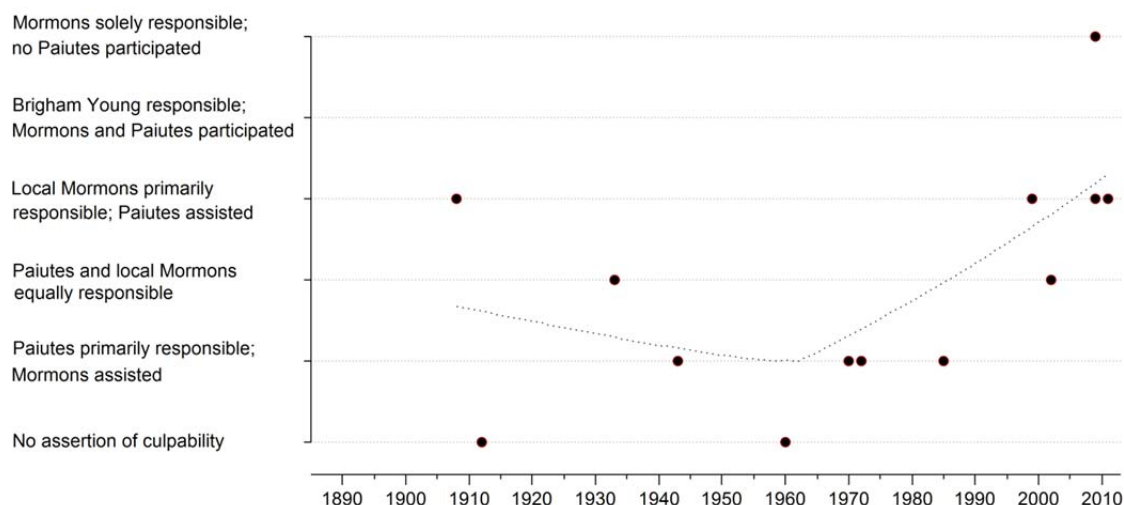


Figure 1. Utah public school curricula.

grandnephew of the great Mormon leader, Brigham Young” (p. 5). Born in Salt Lake City, Utah in 1874, Levi Edgar Young was acquainted with some of the original Mormon pioneers. He received a bachelor’s degree from the University of Utah, and then studied at Harvard before transferring to Columbia University, where he received a master’s degree in history (Topping, 2003). At the time he authored this book, Young was also a general authority of the LDS Church; he served as one of the seven presidents of the Seventy from 1909 until his death in 1963 (Jenson, 1941). In the preface to *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah*, Young delineated his purposes for writing this book.

This little book is a collection of pen pictures of some of the important events in the history of Utah. They are written as they have been told to the children of the schools and to my own little girls who have sat and wondered at the trials and sorrows of their grandfathers and grandmothers. My hope is that they will inspire a love for history in the hearts of the children of this state. (p. 5)

L. E. Young (1912) also mentioned in the preface that he had access to “the most important materials concerning the Mormon people,” and desired “to make use of this

material in putting before the world a detailed study of the Mormons and their work” (p. 5). He then asserted that “if the public enjoys these little sketches, I shall feel encouraged to tell at greater length the dramatic story of my people” (p. 5). Young fulfilled this promise by publishing *The Founding of Utah* in 1923. The appearance of this latter work may suggest that *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah* was well received and widely used after it was published. I include analysis of *The Founding of Utah* in Chapter VI, which presents my examination of historical scholarship on the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The narrative of *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah* begins with the arrival of Mormon pioneers to Utah in 1847. The book outlines principal events of the pioneers’ trek across the plains, their struggle to survive the first winter in the Great Basin, and their efforts to establish settlements. Under the heading “Wars and Rumors of War” (p. 28), Young recounted Mormon relations with Utah’s Indians and described the Walker War and the Blackhawk War. He also recited the tensions that ignited the Utah War, the coming of Johnston’s army, and the resolution of the conflict between Mormon leaders and the U.S. federal government. However, the Mountain Meadows Massacre is never mentioned. The book concludes by commending the accomplishments of Utah’s White settlers and rousing the state’s schoolchildren to emulate the achievements and character of the pioneers.

See how far we have come in so short a time. The white man settled here in 1847. Since that time, the desert has been reclaimed; cities have spring [sic] up along the trail of the trapper; schoolhouses, theaters, libraries and churches now stand where the Indian wigwam once stood; mills and factories are plated along the streams where the beavers once made their dams. We are going farther—much farther; and the children who now read this book will soon be the men and women

upon whom will rest the responsibility of carrying forward the good work so well begun. May God bless them and help them to be as brave and earnest as the Pioneers. (p. 51)

From the text, the reader immediately understands that *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah* is a history of the Mormons, written for Mormons. This textbook is an exceptional example of a curriculum designed to inculcate youth with appreciation and loyalty for the hegemonic group (Nash et al, 1997; Zimmerman, 2002), which in this case was Utah's Latter-day Saint population. The use of the word "we" (L. E. Young, 1912, p. 51) in the book's final paragraph reinforces this hegemonic perspective and clearly excludes Utah Indians, whose way of life is presented as a counterpoint to highlight the progress of White Mormon pioneers (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Foster, 2006; Nash et al., 1997). The absence of any reference to the Mountain Meadows Massacre is instructive. While this omission may be attributed to the book's brevity, it also serves Young's narrative purpose of inspiring youth with adulation for the Mormon pioneers rather than raising difficult issues and questions such as those related to the massacre. As shown on Figure 1, I interpreted *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah* as containing no assertion of culpability concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The Story of Utah, the Beehive State (Evans, 1933b)

This textbook was published by the Macmillan Company in New York. Its author, John Henry Evans (1872-1947), was a Latter-day Saint educator and writer. He taught at Latter-day Saints University in Salt Lake City, which would later become LDS Business College. Evans was best known for authoring the biography *Joseph Smith: An American*

Prophet (1933a) which was also published by Macmillan in 1933 (Bench, 1990).

In his preface to *The Story of Utah, the Beehive State*, Evans (1933b) stated his intention of telling the story of “the people who settled Utah,” meaning the Mormon colonizers, and his narrative issues entirely from their vantage point: “Wherever they set their stakes, they faced unflinchingly the foes of all first settlers, whether they appeared in the form of the dry east wind, the cricket and grasshopper, or the indiscriminating tomahawk in the hand of the Indian” (p. v). This celebratory view of the Mormons continues throughout the preface: “The pioneers...had to pull together or die separately. Nowhere else in America has the spirit of cooperation been so dominant as in Utah” (p. vi). Later in the preface, while explaining his source material, Evans asserted that “almost never has secondhand material been followed” (p. vii). However, he did not provide any clues concerning his primary sources.

Two of the 433 total pages of this textbook are dedicated to the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Evans (1933b) recounted the Utah War but in no way connected that event to the massacre. In fact, the massacre narrative appears two chapters after the Utah War in a chapter entitled “The Walled Towns of Utah” (p. 137). The purpose of this chapter is to relate dangers the Mormon settlers encountered from Indians. It contains multiple accounts of frontier life in Utah that were written to illustrate the violent nature of the Indians and the courage and alleged moral superiority of the Mormon settlers. The chapter describes “the natives” as being “explosive as gunpowder” but also “petulant as children” (p. 138). After relating these accounts, Evans writes: “The most lamentable events in the history of Utah, so far as Indians are concerned, though,

were the massacre of the Gunnison party on the Sevier and the massacre of some immigrants at Mountain Meadows” (p. 144). Evans then clarified that the Mountain Meadows Massacre “was the joint work of white men and natives” (p. 145-46). He described the Gunnison massacre—in which U.S. Army Captain John W. Gunnison and seven of members of his party were attacked and killed in 1853—as an act of Indian retribution for the actions of emigrants who had killed two Indians while passing through Utah. Evans concluded, “The strangers went on their way, but the Indians got revenge on others who had nothing to do with the killing. That was the Indian sense of justice” (p. 145). He then transitioned into his narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The Mountain Meadows affair was even more shocking. Mountain Meadows is a beautiful patch of greensward lifted up a little from the plain. It is about thirty-five miles south of Cedar City, in Iron County. Here, in August 1857, a company of emigrants made their camp.

The company consisted of one hundred thirty-seven people—men, women, and children. This included what was known as some “wild cats” from Missouri, a gang of rowdies, who boasted that they had helped to drive the Mormons from that State and otherwise made themselves obnoxious—poisoning cattle, for instance. The rest were well-to-do folk, highly respected where they came from. With them were several thousand head of cattle. They were under the leadership of a Captain Fancher, and were on their way to California.

That there was no ill-will between them and the settlers between Salt Lake City and Cedar City—aside from those “wild cats”—is evident from at least two things. One was that they asked and received the advice of C.C. Rich, who knew both routes to the coast and who had told them why he thought the northern road was the better. They had taken his counsel at first, but later changed their minds. The other circumstance was that the settlers along the way had sold them such provisions as they could spare. The settlers had not sold them grain for their cattle, but had not withheld wheat and flour for human consumption, for just then there was a not too plentiful supply.

One morning at dawn—the seventh of September, 1857, to be exact—the emigrants were surprised by hearing shots. Seven men fell dead. Sixteen others were wounded. Hastily digging trenches, they lowered their wagon wheels into

these and fought the enemy.

Later, one John D. Lee, a Mormon engaged to teach the natives farming, induced the emigrants to surrender. He promised them protection. At the same time Lee summoned other white settlers to the scene under the pretext that the dead needed burial. The surviving emigrants, trusting implicitly in the pledged word of the white man, marched out of camp single file, after having given up their weapons. They were shot down by Indians and white men from ambush like so many rabbits.

Only seventeen survived. These were children between a few months old and seven years. The point was, it seems, to get rid of all that would remember what had happened and could talk about it. The property of the emigrants was distributed among the murderers.

Attempts have been made to fasten this horrible massacre on Brigham Young and the Mormon church. There is no evidence, however, to warrant such a conclusion. It is certain, of course, that there were Mormons in the group of persons who committed the deed. But they were acting in their own individual capacity, not by reason of any order, expressed or implicit, from any church man. As a matter of fact, Governor Young, in response to a question asked by a Mormon leader in Parowan as to what should be done with the emigrants, wrote that “the emigrants should not be meddled with, if it takes all Iron County to prevent it.” Haight, a leader there, had told him they were in danger from Indian attacks.

Lee was later executed for his share in the crime. Others died in exile. All the children were restored to their relatives in Arkansas.

It was during this period of Indian troubles that Utah became a community of walled towns. North and south, east and west, the settlements were surrounded by high, thick walls, either completed or in the making. They were for protection against the natives. (Evans 1933b, p. 147-149)

This narrative provided three implied motives for the massacre—that those responsible for it desired revenge against a group of ruffians called the “wild cats” who had helped drive Mormons from the state of Missouri; that they were acting in revenge after the “wild cats” poisoned some cattle; and that they coveted the emigrants’ property, which included “several thousand head of cattle” (Evans, 1933b, p. 147). However, the narrative’s driving ideological purpose is not to explain the motives of the murderers, it is

to clear Brigham Young and the LDS Church of any responsibility for the massacre. Evans affirmed that any Mormons who may have been involved “were acting in their own individual capacity, not by reason of any order, expressed or implicit, from any church man” (p. 149). Even Isaac C. Haight, who is implicated in many other narratives as the mastermind of the crime and the ecclesiastical and militia official who gave orders to John D. Lee, appears in Evans’ account as an aide to Brigham Young in trying to save the emigrants from Indian attacks. Evans intimated that justice for the massacre was served through the execution of Lee and the exile of other participants.

A postcolonialist reading of Evans’ (1933b) narrative draws meaning from his positioning of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a chapter that focuses on Indian depredations. The massacre narrative is prefaced by multiple accounts of alleged Indian violence and is curiously followed by the assertion that such violence was the reason Utah’s Mormon communities needed to be protected by “high, thick walls” (p. 149). These statements underscore the colonialist assumption that White colonizers were generally peaceful and civilized, whereas their indigenous neighbors were ferocious and primitive (Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004). Elsewhere in this textbook, Evans explained that Brigham Young and other LDS Church leaders formulated a policy directing Mormon settlers to treat Indians with kindness and to elevate them to the Mormons’ higher moral standard. He also conceded that occasionally some Mormons failed to live according to this policy. This information provides insight into Evans’ identification of John D. Lee as “a Mormon engaged to teach the natives farming” (p. 148). The narrative suggests that Lee’s primary error was his failure to instill Mormon ethics within the

Indians. Instead, Lee joined the Indians in acts of violence to which the Indians were naturally prone. This reasoning supports Evans' conclusion that "most likely, the tragedy at Mountain Meadows would never have happened if the white men involved therein had adhered to the general policy" (p. 211) governing Mormon-Indian relations. Although this statement amplified the role of White Mormons in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, it scarcely tempered the descriptions of Indian violence surrounding Evans' narrative of the massacre. Therefore, as depicted on Figure 1, I interpreted *The Story of Utah, the Beehive State* as presenting local White Mormons and Paiute Indians as equally culpable for the massacre.

Utah in Her Western Setting (Hunter, 1943)

This textbook was published by the Deseret News Press in Salt Lake City, Utah. The book's author, Milton R. Hunter, was born in Utah in 1902 and later received bachelor's and master's degrees from Brigham Young University. He also worked as a public school administrator in Nevada and Utah, and as a seminary instructor for the LDS Church ("News of the Church," 1975). Hunter earned a Ph.D. in history from the University of California at Berkeley, and then returned to Utah where he again was employed as an instructor in the LDS Church Educational System (Topping, 2003). Two years after he published *Utah in Her Western Setting*, Hunter became a general authority in the LDS Church, serving in the First Council of the Seventy.

In the preface to *Utah in Her Western Setting*, Hunter (1943) explained that "this book is designed primarily for young people of public school age who are studying Utah history. The purpose of the volume is to give a sweep of Utah history from the arrival of

the first white men in Utah up to the year 1943” (p. v). Hunter also acknowledged that “of necessity some historical facts had to be omitted” (p. v). In addition, he clarified his use of terminology: “Throughout the book the words ‘Saints’ and ‘Gentiles’ are frequently used to distinguish between the Mormons and non-Mormons. The terms as used are not intended to be complimentary nor derogatory to either group, but appear merely as terms of differentiation” (p. vi).

Several clues provide evidence of the wide acceptance and use of this textbook over a period of at least 17 years, until Hunter’s next textbook was published in 1960. First, in his acknowledgments, Hunter expressed gratitude to the chairman of the history department at both the University of Utah and Utah State Agricultural College (now Utah State University), and to a professor of the history department at Brigham Young University. He also gave thanks to a number of members of the Utah State Department of Education, and to “several of the superintendents of the various schools districts of Utah, to some of the school supervisors, and to many of the teachers of Utah history for their suggestions in helping to determine which events were of enough importance to be included in a book of this nature” (p. vi). In addition to the numerous individuals who reviewed and apparently approved of Hunter’s manuscript, the many editions and printings of *Utah in Her Western Setting* (Hunter, 1958) are indicators of the book’s longstanding popularity throughout the state. Based on my examination of the early and late versions of the book (Hunter, 1943, 1958), Hunter’s treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre did not change in this text.

Utah in Her Western Setting (Hunter, 1943) dedicated only one sentence of its

614 pages to the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Although the book did not contain a narrative of the event, it did provide an assertion of culpability in relation to the massacre. Rather than appearing in the chapter on the Utah War, Hunter's reference to the massacre emerges in a chapter entitled "Conflicts of Indians and Whites" (p. 310). In this chapter, Hunter asserted that "in comparing Utah colonial history and that of other American frontiers, there were relatively few Indian uprisings in Utah and comparatively little loss of life and property" (p. 310). He continued by overviewing several conflicts.

Two small Indian skirmishes took place in Utah Valley in 1849. The Walker War occurred in 1853-1854, and Captain J. W. Gunnison and members of his party were murdered during that conflict. Some white men assisted the Indians in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which took place in the fall of 1857. But probably the most serious of the Indian troubles in Utah history was the Black Hawk War. (p. 310)

At the conclusion of the chapter, Hunter (1943) included a list of supplemental readings. One of the suggested resources was the chapter entitled "The Walled Towns of Utah" in John Henry Evans' textbook, *The Story of Utah, the Beehive State* (1933b, p. 137). Hunter also recommended treatments of the Mountain Meadows Massacre as presented in other texts written by Mormon authors, including L. E. Young's (1923) *The Founding of Utah*.

In terms of ideology, *Utah in Her Western Setting* (Hunter, 1943) was clearly written from a Latter-day Saint viewpoint. This is evidenced by the textbook's publisher, the Deseret News Press, which was owned and operated by the LDS Church, and by the book's references to Mormons as *Saints* and non-Mormons as *Gentiles*. Hunter acknowledged that these references were used "merely as terms of differentiation" (p. vi), but their appearance demonstrates that in a state-sanctioned curriculum Latter-day Saints

were afforded the privilege of naming themselves and others according to their own preferences. This indicates Latter-day Saints benefitted from cultural hegemony in Utah (Apple, 1979; Eisner, 2002; Said, 1978).

Omissions in the textbook's treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre further underscore its ideological intent (Barton & Levstik, 2004). The appearance of the book's only reference to the massacre in a chapter about "Conflicts of Indians and Whites" (p. 310) rather than a chapter on the Utah War served to distance the LDS Church, its leaders, and the larger Mormon community from the atrocity. Indeed, the "white men" who "assisted the Indians in the Mountain Meadows Massacre" are not identified as Mormons (p. 310). In addition, the book clearly downplayed the significance of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. It characterized the atrocity as one of "relatively few Indian uprisings in Utah" that resulted in "comparatively little loss of life and property" (p. 310). This statement minimized the murders of 120 emigrants and the theft of thousands of dollars of property taken from them and their beneficiaries (Anderson, 1942; Bagley, 2002a; Walker et al., 2008). As illustrated in Figure 1, I interpreted *Utah in Her Western Setting* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

The Utah Story (Hunter, 1960)

Milton R. Hunter wrote *The Utah Story* to replace his previous text, *Utah in Her Western Setting* (1943). *The Utah Story* was published in Salt Lake City by Wheelwright Lithographing Company. At the time this book was published, Hunter was well known in Utah. He had served as a general authority of the LDS Church for 15 years, had published

21 books, and had written articles on the history of Utah for *Collier's Encyclopedia* and *National Encyclopedia* (Hunter, 1960). In his preface to *The Utah Story*, Hunter indicated the book was “designed for young people of the junior high school age” and would help them “become acquainted with the social, economic, and political life of the state” (p. ii). Hunter further explained that “conversational style has been used throughout the book to make it more easily read and more enjoyed by students of junior high age” (p. ii). This style consisted of a running dialogue between a fictional teacher, Mr. Madsen, and a classroom of students with names such as Jane Brown, Stephen, Sharon, Robert, and Mary Thomas. Throughout the text, Mr. Madsen introduces a particular topic, students ask questions or point out what they know about the topic, and Mr. Madsen then responds to the students’ questions or affirms and expounds on their comments.

The preface to *The Utah Story* indicates the book enjoyed wide support in Utah. In the preface, Hunter (1960) expressed appreciation to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction “for his encouragement and many helpful suggestions,” to the Assistant Director of Secondary Education in Utah Public Schools “for her guidance throughout the production of this volume,” and also expressed gratitude for “the help given by several other Utah educators” (p. ii). Moreover, G. Homer Durham, President of Arizona State University and later the first Commissioner of the Utah System of Higher Education, endorsed *The Utah Story* in his foreword to the book. Hunter published a revised edition of *The Utah Story* in 1965. In this edition, statistical data were updated and a chapter was added on recent developments in Utah, but no changes were made to the text’s approach to the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Although *The Utah Story* (Hunter, 1960) presented detailed treatments of the Utah War and 19th century Mormon-Indian relations, the book contained no reference or allusion to the Mountain Meadows Massacre in 436 pages of text. Three chapters exploring Mormon-Indian relations were written to emphasize the friendly and peaceful relations that existed between the two groups. For example, Hunter's fictional history teacher, Mr. Madsen, explains to his class:

During the first 250 years of the history of our nation, the rights of the red men were almost completely ignored.

To the credit of the founders of our state, students, their treatment of the Indians was perhaps more fair, just, and humane than that of any other group in the colonizing of our great nation. Governor Brigham Young felt deeply the injustices which the Indians had received from the white settlers of the U.S.

Young's policy was "to feed, teach, educate, civilize, and Christianize the red men." (p. 196)

Analysis of *The Utah Story* (Hunter, 1960) in terms of ideological intent helps explain why a textbook that covers the relations between 19th century Mormons and Indians and also the Utah War would completely omit any reference to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Hunter's intent was to extol Mormon pioneers. That Hunter wrote from the Latter-day Saint hegemonic perspective is evidenced by Mr. Madsen's characterization of White Mormon settlers as "our pioneers forefathers" (p. 231). While this language was inclusive of Utah's schoolchildren who claimed Mormon pioneer heritage, it excluded those who did not and left them in the position of either identifying with the mainstream perspective or viewing themselves as outsiders (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Nash et al., 1997).

Hunter's (1960) presentation of Mormon pioneers as deliverers sent "to feed, teach, educate, civilize, and Christianize the red men" (p. 196) failed to recognize that Mormons had deprived Indians of land and resources necessary for their survival (Blackhawk, 2008). In addition, while Hunter generally portrayed Indians positively, he did not represent them as morally or culturally equal to the Mormons. The esteem he ascribed to Indians was proportionate to their acceptance of and assimilation into Mormon cultural norms (Ostler, 2004; R. J. C. Young, 2003). Hunter's omission of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in *The Utah Story* allowed him to maintain consistency in his narrative themes, which were designed to celebrate Mormon pioneers and set forth what he viewed as their refining influence on Utah Indians. Because *The Utah Story* contained no reference to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, I interpreted this textbook as asserting no culpability concerning the massacre (see Figure 1).

Utah Grows, Past and Present (Buttle, 1970)

Faye Jensen Buttle (1906-1974) worked for decades as a teacher at Brigham Young High School in Provo, Utah. In 1967 she authored *Utah Grows: Pre-Utah and Utah History*. Utah's Textbook Commission decided to approve the work for adoption by the public schools if Jensen would make recommended revisions to the text ("Utah Begins Text Probe," 1967). Three years later, she published *Utah Grows, Past and Present: A Social Studies Approach to the Study of Utah* through BYU Press. In the preface Buttle explained her purpose in writing this book.

Utah Grows, Past and Present is designed to give its readers a general knowledge of Utah today and how it came to be.... It is, in part, biographical and deals with

the lives and contributions of Indians native to the area, Spaniards, trappers, government explorers, and pioneers, and their interrelationships in the exploration and settlement of the Great Basin area. The Mormon migration and the struggle of the Mormon people to create a society based on their religion is also treated in some detail.

In presenting the conflicts between the Mormon settlers and those opposing their way of life whether on religious, economic, or political grounds, the author has tried to be as objective as possible, giving facts without making judgments except those which would promote the sympathetic understanding of all sides in a situation. (p. iii)

Buttle (1970) did not disclose her sources, but did express “special appreciation” to “several of the foremost authorities on Utah history resident in the State of Utah, who have checked this edition for historical accuracy” (p. iii). Among others, these authorities were likely members of Utah’s Textbook Commission who authorized adoption of the text by public schools.

True to her stated purpose, Buttle (1970) incorporated entire chapters on the contributions of Spaniards, trappers, Mormons and Indians to the history and development of Utah. Her 238-page book also included a two-page narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a unit entitled “The Struggle toward Statehood” (p. 177), which outlined causes and events of the Utah War. After setting forth this historical context, Buttle described the Baker-Fancher wagon train and began her narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

THE FANCHER PARTY.—As part of the instructions to the pioneers in their preparations to resist the army, Brigham Young had ordered all supplies stored. None could be sold to the emigrant parties passing through Utah en route to California. Citizens through the entire territory were in a highly emotional state of mind. All the divisions of the territorial militia were drilling and preparing for an attack. The Mormon people recalled the times they had been forced from their homes. They vowed that this time they would not be driven out. Into this powder-keg of pent-up emotions came an emigrant group from Arkansas and Missouri,

known as the Fancher party. They were really two parties travelling together. One group was a typical wagon train of families. The other was a group of rough and brawling men. Altogether there were about 140 people. Probably a high percent of the misdeeds of this group were rumors that had been expanded in the telling until the over-anxious Mormons believed them to be true. The story of the actions of some Mormons and Indians follows.

As these men traveled southwest through the Utah territory, they antagonized the people by snapping the heads from chickens with a whip, shooting small animals in the streets of the towns, threatening the women and generally disrupting the peace. Probably the action which most excited and angered the already worried citizens was the displaying of a gun. These travelers bragged that it was the gun that had killed Joseph Smith. And they boasted about their own participation in the murder of the Mormon prophet. There were also suspicions that this group was poisoning wells and cattle. Whether this group poisoned the water the cattle drank or whether it was poisoned with alkali from the soil is not clear. Several years before, in the gold rush time, many cattle had died from alkali poisoning, and that is what may have happened in this case, too. As the emigrants moved farther south they became intensely angry when the pioneers refused to sell them supplies. The emigrants knew of Johnston's approaching army. They told the Saints that they would raise another army in California and return and wipe them out. The people of Washington County considered themselves guardians of the southern and western approaches to Utah. They truly feared an army approach from this direction. A messenger was sent to Brigham Young to ask what to do about these threatening emigrants. But when the messenger returned with the word to let them go in peace, it was already too late. A shameful tragedy which left a torturing cloud of guilt, remorse, and suspicion had already occurred.

Mountain Meadows Massacre.—As the emigrants rested in a small meadow in Washington County, they were attacked by Indians. They put their wagons in a circle and were successful in standing off the Indian attack. What happened next is unclear as there are many conflicting stories.

John D. Lee said that the Indians had thought they were helping the Mormons in their war. During that battle the Indians became frenzied because some braves had been killed and others wounded. Hundreds of Indians arrived and demanded that Lee and other Mormons help them or the Indians would kill him and turn against the Mormons and help the U.S. Army in its expedition into Utah. According to his own story, Lee agreed to do this to save his life and prevent the Indians from making war on the Mormons at that desperate time.

The emigrants were persuaded to leave their wagons and goods to pacify the Indians. Lee and some other men then joined the Indians in killing the unarmed men. And they either allowed or were not successful in preventing the Indians

from also killing the women and children. Seventeen very young children who had been spared were all well cared for. Eventually they were returned to their relatives in the East. The part that Lee and the other settlers played in the massacre was kept quiet. Those who had participated and others who knew about it were afraid for their own lives. That action of these few Mormons could bring new suffering and persecution on the whole Mormon people.

Many years later, in 1875, John Lee was tried and found guilty of murder. Although he was not the only Mormon involved in the massacre, he, alone, paid with his life. (pp. 183-184)

Accompanying this narrative is an image of the massacre entitled “Mountain Meadows Massacre, Sept. 11, 1857” (Buttle, 1970, p. 183). The image shows emigrants being attacked and killed by seven Indians with tomahawks and spears and four white men with rifles or clubs. Indians are the dominant aggressors in the image. Below the narrative is a separate header entitled, “Collective guilt and vengeance” (p. 183). Following is an explanation that “in the settling of the west,” it was common to “blame all the members of a group for the actions of some individuals” (p. 183). Buttle mentioned the Haun’s Mill Massacre and explained:

It was in southern Utah that many of the survivors of the Haun’s Mill attack were living. To many people, these Missourians of the Fancher party must have seemed responsible for the Haun’s Mill Massacre, and the death of Joseph Smith. A desire for vengeance and an idea that a whole group was equally guilty helped to bring on the Mountain Meadows Massacre. (p. 184)

Buttle’s (1970) narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre contains a number of incongruities that provide insight into her ideological intent. The narrative contains a litany of explanations concerning why Mormon settlers would have been incited to take part in the massacre. These range from the emotional distress caused by the Utah War to the offenses of the Baker-Fancher party. However, instead of building on these explanations to clarify the cause of the massacre, the narrative suddenly jumps to the

assertion that Indians attacked the wagon train. Buttle cited John D. Lee's claim that the Indians believed they "were helping the Mormons in their war" (p. 184). In presenting this view, Buttle portrayed Indians as the primary aggressors who later forced John D. Lee and other Mormons to participate in subsequent attacks. Lee was placed in the position of either joining the Indians or subjecting himself and his people to their wrath. Although Buttle provided a caveat to this claim by indicating that there were "many conflicting stories" (p. 184) concerning what happened, she lent credence to the notion that Indians were predominantly responsible for the massacre by choosing not to elaborate on the stories that contested Lee's explanation. Buttle further explained that Mormons who participated in the Mountain Meadows Massacre likely sought vengeance for wrongs they previously suffered in the Haun's Mill Massacre. Although the reader is left to wonder whether Mormons were forced to participate or chose to because of a desire for revenge, the narrative is clear in asserting that Indians were principally to blame for the massacre. As shown on Figure 1, I interpreted *Utah Grows, Past and Present* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some White Mormons assisting.

Utah's Heritage (Ellsworth, 1972)

Published in California by Peregrine Smith, this textbook was written by S. George Ellsworth. A biographical sketch of Ellsworth contained in *Utah's Heritage* reveals that he was "born in Arizona of Utah and Arizona pioneer ancestors" (p. 3). Ellsworth received a bachelor's degree from Utah State Agricultural College (now Utah State University), and master's and doctor's degrees in history from the University of

California at Berkley. He taught junior and senior high school in Nevada before becoming a professor of history at Utah State University. At the time he wrote *Utah's Heritage*, Ellsworth was also the editor of the *Western Historical Quarterly*, a national journal for western historians.

In the preface to *Utah's Heritage*, Ellsworth (1972) stated his purpose in authoring this text.

The volume is the latest in a series of studies of Utah written for the use in the social studies program of the public schools of Utah. The books by Orson F. Whitney, Levi Edgar Young, John Henry Evans, and Milton R. Hunter have been used through the years. *Utah's Heritage* continues in the tradition set by these authors and brings the account to the present day, covering a wide range of subjects and human activities. Attention has been given to all the people who have helped to make Utah, insofar as records of their activities are available. (p. 5)

Ellsworth (1972) did not specify his sources in writing *Utah's Heritage*, but stated that he relied on “primary sources wherever possible,” as well as “excellent studies by reliable scholars” (p. 5). The book was reissued multiple times between 1972 and 1985, and was “adopted by most Utah middle schools” (Bitton & Arrington, 1988, p. 132).

This 503-page book dedicated just under one page to the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. A narrative of the massacre appears in a chapter entitled “Conflicts and Wars Marked Utah's Early Territorial Days” (p. 207). Early in the chapter, Ellsworth (1972) mentioned conflicts involving Utah Indians, such as the Walker War and the Gunnison Massacre. He then described the Utah War under the heading, “The Utah War was a blunder based on misunderstandings” (p. 207). After detailing some causes of the conflict between the federal government and the Latter-day Saints, Ellsworth described the panic that spread throughout the Territory of Utah and affirmed that “a state of war

existed” (p. 215). He then began narrating the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The most terrible event of the Utah War took place in southern Utah at Mountain Meadows, about thirty-five miles southwest of Cedar City. To alert the settlers to the invasion of Johnston’s army, George A. Smith, founder of Cedar City and apostle to the southern settlements, spent August preaching fiery sermons and reminding the settlers of past persecutions, stirring them to resist the coming enemy. About the same time a group of emigrants came through Utah en route to California, consisting of the Fancher train and a group of horsemen who called themselves “Missouri Wildcats.” Smith had instructed the settlers to save all food stuffs and not to sell any to emigrants. This Missouri group missed the expected food supply and resented the Mormon action.

The “Wildcats” stirred up trouble: one claimed to have helped kill Joseph Smith; another wanted to go back and kill Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. Settlers believed these men poisoned a spring resulting in the death of cattle and people, and that they fed poisoned beef to Indians, causing deaths. The Indians were enraged. Governor Young wondered whether or not the Indians could be controlled. He feared for the settlers. He had hoped for an alliance between Mormons and Indians against the army if necessary. The settlers of southern Utah were already tense. Added to the threat of an army from the north was the possibility of an Indian war at home. In this atmosphere southern Utah leaders met at Cedar City, Sunday afternoon, September 6. Some argued for vengeance, others for peace. A rider was sent to Salt Lake City to get Brigham Young’s direction. The rider left on Monday and reached Governor Young at noon on Thursday. Within the hour Governor Young wrote instructions to let all emigrants pass through in peace and sent the rider back at top speed. But the rider arrived too late. On the same day the rider left Cedar City, Indians attacked the emigrants at Mountain Meadows. When word of the Indian attack reached Cedar City, Mormon volunteers were sent to bury the dead. At night three emigrants slipped away to seek help from the people of Cedar City, but one was killed by Indian ambush, so the other two fled to California.

This event compounded the fears of Mormon military leaders that an Indian war would break out. With an army invading Utah, an Indian war had to be avoided at all costs. We do not know who decided what should follow, but orders were given and on Friday, September 11, Indians and men of the Utah militia went to the emigrant camp. The emigrants (about 120) were lured from their defenses, disarmed, and slain. Seventeen children were spared and taken to the settlements. The affair is the darkest event in Utah history. It can be accounted for only in relation to the hysteria of war: the threat to life from an invasion from without and Indians at home who demanded vengeance on the emigrants or on the settlers. (pp. 216-217)

In this narrative, the Utah War is cited as a significant causal factor in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. News of the approach of Johnston's army, carried south by George A. Smith in concert with orders not to sell food supplies to emigrants, created the initial tension that set in motion a number of events that resulted in the massacre. These events included the reprehensible behavior of the Arkansas and Missouri emigrants, who allegedly poisoned beef and fed it to Indians with the intent of killing them. In turn, the narrative claims that the Indians were bound to have retribution through violence either against the emigrants or against the Mormon settlers.

Ellsworth's (1972) inclusion of James Haslem's ride to Salt Lake City to seek Brigham Young's instructions served to exculpate Young and the LDS Church from responsibility for the massacre. However, Ellsworth mentioned that local "Mormon military leaders" met in council, "and orders were given" (p. 217) for certain militia men to participate in the killing of emigrants. Rather than naming John D. Lee as a leader or a participant in the massacre, Ellsworth simply averred that "we do not know" (p. 217) who among the local Mormons of southern Utah was responsible for the militia's participation.

In spite of these vague concessions of Mormon involvement, the narrative ultimately reinforced the traditional Latter-day Saint version of the massacre by asserting that Indians were the instigators of violence upon the emigrant wagon train. In each instance of killing, vengeful and angry Indians were mentioned before Mormon settlers as the primary perpetrators. Thus, the narrative accounts for Mormon involvement in the massacre as an unfortunate consequence of either having to join the Indians in mass

murder, or become victims themselves of the Indians' rage. As illustrated on Figure 1, I interpreted *Utah's Heritage* (1972) as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some White Mormons assisting.

The New Utah's Heritage (Ellsworth, 1985)

This textbook was published in Salt Lake City by Gibbs M. Smith, Inc. The author, S. George Ellsworth, released the book as a revised edition of his 1972 work, *Utah's Heritage*. This new iteration was reprinted numerous times, indicating its popularity and wide use in Utah.

The New Utah's Heritage (Ellsworth, 1985) contained 374 pages of text, and dedicated just over one half of a page to the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The book presented essentially the same massacre narrative as *Utah's Heritage* (Ellsworth, 1972), although there are several minor changes. For example, Ellsworth added a bold subheading entitled "Mountain Meadows Massacre" (p. 177) to commence the massacre narrative in *The New Utah's Heritage*. The most substantial change occurs in the narrative's final line. *Utah's Heritage* (Ellsworth, 1972) concluded its account of the massacre by suggesting that Mormon involvement in the massacre could only be explained by "the threat to life from an invasion from without and Indians at home who demanded vengeance on the emigrants or on the settlers" (p. 217). In *The New Utah's Heritage*, Ellsworth (1985) changed this line and stated that Mormon involvement could be explained only by the "threat of invasion from without, and Indian troubles from within" (p. 178).

In spite of this alteration, the narrative's main premise remained unchanged. The

term “Indian troubles,” while apparently softening the charge that Indians presented an immediate threat to Mormon settlers, hardly mitigated the Indians’ alleged role in the massacre. Indians were still mentioned before Mormon settlers as the primary instigators of violence, and the local Mormon leaders were forced to make a strategic decision to prevent an Indian war by ordering militia members to join in the massacre. As shown on Figure 1, I interpreted *The New Utah’s Heritage* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some White Mormons assisting.

Utah: A Journey of Discovery (Holzapfel, 1999)

This textbook was published in Layton, Utah by Gibbs Smith. The author, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, is currently a professor at Brigham Young University. The book lists within its first pages an impressive assemblage of advisors and reviewers including academics, professional historians, school teachers, administrators, and the Director of the Utah Division of Indian Affairs. This textbook was reprinted in 2000 and 2001.

This 314-page book presents a one and a half page narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a chapter entitled, “Utah’s Struggle for Statehood: Conflict, Compromise, and Cooperation” (p. 165). The massacre account follows information on the Utah War, which Holzapfel (1999) suggested was caused by misinformation on the part of federal government officials and Latter-day Saint leaders. Under the heading “The Mountain Meadows Massacre” (p. 171), Hozapfel presented the following narrative.

It was one of the American West’s most tragic examples of the wrong people in the wrong place at the wrong time. A company of about 120 Arkansas and Missouri immigrants heading for California traveled through some southern Utah

towns at the same time as the people of Utah prepared for battle with Johnston's soldiers. To add to the tension, there was news of the murder of a Mormon leader in Arkansas. It was reported that the Arkansas immigrants were bragging of the murder and were also treating local Paiutes and Mormon settlers with contempt.

Mormon leader Isaac Haight, head of the local militia, sent a horseman galloping to Salt Lake City to ask Brigham Young for advice. The rider made remarkable time, but before he returned with an answer, Haight, John D. Lee, and other members of the militia coerced the generally peaceful Paiutes to join them at Mountain Meadows. According to plan, Lee approached the Arkansas immigrants under a flag of truce, telling them he would escort them to safety from the Paiutes. After sending the women and children on ahead, a soldier stood by each immigrant man. At the command of "Halt, each man do your duty," they murdered the immigrants. They also followed and killed all of the women and children who were old enough to report what happened. Only eighteen small children were saved.

The first reports back to Salt Lake City indicated that only Paiutes were involved in the massacre. Later, Brigham Young learned the horrible truth that the members of the Iron County Militia had killed the immigrants in cold blood. Years later, Lee was arrested and executed for the crime. None of the other men were tried. (p. 171)

In this narrative the local militia, acting under the direction of "Mormon leader" Isaac Haight, was primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre (Holzapfel, 1999, p. 171). Instead of Indians seeking vengeance against emigrants for poisoned beef, Holzapfel portrayed Mormons as seeking revenge for the murder of one of their leaders—Parley P. Pratt. While Holzapfel cleared Brigham Young of responsibility for the massacre, he attributed guilt toward Isaac Haight and John D. Lee—two men who were recognized leaders within a hierarchy established and sanctioned by the LDS Church. In an apparent abuse of their power, these men and others belonging to the Mormon militia allegedly coerced the Paiutes—who were generally peaceful—to participate in the massacre, and then attempted a cover-up of the conspiracy by placing all responsibility for the crime upon the Indians. As depicted on Figure 1, I interpreted

Utah: A Journey of Discovery as presenting White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

Utah: A Journey of Discovery, Revised Edition (Holzapfel, 2002)

Three years after the publication of *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* (1999), Gibbs Smith issued a revised edition of this text. Based on the 2007 edition that I examined, I noted that the revised edition had been reprinted each year between 2003 and 2007, indicating the prevalence of this text in Utah's schools.

Like the previous edition, the revised edition of *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* (2002) dedicated one and a half pages out of 314 pages of text to the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. However, the revised edition also presented significant changes in its treatment of the massacre. In November 2012, I contacted Richard Nietzel Holzapfel to inquire about the revisions made to this text. He was unable to recall why the revisions were made or who made them. Although the revised edition primarily maintained the same narrative flow, key details related to the issue of culpability were altered. For example, in the 1999 account, the narrative indicated that "news of the murder of a Mormon leader in Arkansas" (Holzapfel, 1999, p. 171) contributed to tensions between Mormon settlers and the Arkansas and Missouri immigrants. This detail was omitted in the revised narrative. In addition, the original narrative did not mention any cause of tension between Paiute Indians and the immigrants. However, the revised edition reported that "there was a rumor that the immigrants poisoned some well water, and some Paiutes and their animals died" (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 171). It then added that

“the angry Indians attacked the wagon train, several men on each side were killed, but the Paiutes were driven off” (p. 171).

Another striking change involved the deletion of the claim that “members of the militia coerced the generally peaceful Paiutes to join them at Mountain Meadows” (Holzapfel, 1999, p. 171). This was replaced by the statement that “members of the militia had joined the Paiute men at Mountain Meadows” (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 171). Furthermore, the ambiguous phrase, “they murdered the immigrants” (Holzapfel, 1999, p. 172), was supplanted with “the militia either murdered the immigrants or let the Paiutes do it” (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 172). The final change to the original narrative involved altering the following phrase: “Later, Brigham Young learned the horrible truth that the members of the Iron County Militia had killed the immigrants in cold blood” (Holzapfel, 1999, p. 172). The revised edition stated: “Later, Brigham Young learned the horrible truth that the members of the Iron County Militia had conspired with the Indians and killed the immigrants in cold blood” (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 172).

In addition to these changes in the narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the revised edition of *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* presented a bold block quote set off from the narrative that stated:

“In regard to the emigration trains passing through our settlements, we must not interfere with them until they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them.... If those that are there will leave, let them go in peace.”—Brigham Young. (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 172)

Another large block quote stated “‘...[they] were led to do what one singly would have done under normal conditions, and for which none singly can be held responsible.’—Juanita Brooks, Utah author” (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 172). The massacre

narrative is also accompanied by a small image of John D. Lee and the following caption: “John D. Lee took the blame for all of the others when he was executed and buried in a wooden coffin.” (p. 172). Larger images include a photograph of officials at the execution of John D. Lee, and a landscape photograph of the Mountain Meadows.

The changes made to the narrative of the revised edition of *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* (2002) implicated Paiute Indians as sharing responsibility for the Mountain Meadows Massacre with Mormon militiamen. The changes also serve to assuage the degree of culpability previously given to leaders and members of southern Utah’s Mormon militia for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The addition of the block quotes and caption serve this same purpose. The quotation from Brigham Young appears to relieve him—and the LDS Church as an institution—of responsibility for the massacre. The quotation by Juanita Brooks does not dismiss local Mormon participants for their role in the massacre, but suggests their actions were due to the extreme conditions they faced. While these statements help to explain Mormon participation in the massacre, there are no corresponding statements from Paiute Indians explaining or modulating their alleged role in the massacre. This discrepancy indicates *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* presented the massacre from a Latter-day Saint perspective. As shown on Figure 1, I interpreted *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* as presenting local White Mormons and Paiute Indians as equally culpable for the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The Utah Journey (Holzapfel, 2008)

Gibbs Smith updated and redesigned *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* (2002) based on the Utah State Social Studies Core Curriculum and created *The Utah Journey*. This

353 page text reproduced Holzapfel's one and a half page narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre with additional changes. It included a new sketch of the massacre depicting White men firing rifles at emigrants in the foreground and faint images of Indians in the background. The publisher deleted the statement that "members of the militia had joined the Paiute men at Mountain Meadows" (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 171), and replaced it with the statement that "Haight, John D. Lee, and other members of the militia convinced the generally peaceful Paiutes to join them at Mountain Meadows" (Holzapfel, 2009, p. 153). In addition, the phrase, "the militia either murdered the immigrants or let the Paiutes do it" (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 172) was replaced with "the soldiers murdered all the men in the company" (Holzapfel, 2008, p. 153). Finally, the following statement was appended to the end of the narrative: "Some historians disagree about details of the massacre. Today, books continue to be written with different interpretations of the event" (p. 153).

Although the changes to the massacre narrative in *The Utah Journey* (Holzapfel, 2008) were few, they were significant. Three of the four changes were designed to explicitly identify White Mormons as the instigators of the massacre. The final change in the narrative—the statement regarding disagreements among historians—acknowledges that other interpretations of the massacre exist and may be valid. However, the text does not mention what the alternate details entail. As illustrated on Figure 1, I interpreted *The Utah Journey* as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

Utah Indian Curriculum Project (2009)

In April 2009, the American West Center at the University of Utah posted the following announcement on its website:

Forrest Cuch, the director of Utah's Division of Indian Affairs, has dreamed of a day when the Native American point of view is included in Utah's public school curriculum. Thanks to an American West Center project funded by the State of Utah through the Division of Indian Affairs in the Utah Department of Community and Culture, that dream is being realized. The American West Center is developing 24 Indian-centered lesson plans for fourth, seventh, and high school grades.

The lesson plans were produced under the auspices of the Utah State Department of Education in conjunction with a five-part video documentary entitled *We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah*. Utah's Public Broadcasting Service station, KUED, created these video documentaries to relate "the stories and ways of the Ute, Paiute, Northwestern Shoshone, Goshute, and Navajo people" (We Shall Remain, n.d.). After production, the Utah State Legislature allocated funds "to provide the KUED documentaries and a companion curriculum guide to each public school and library in the state" (American West Center, 2009).

This curriculum relates the colonization of Utah from the perspective of the region's indigenous peoples. Colonists are referred to as non-Indians throughout the curriculum. In addition, Paiutes and the other indigenous peoples are depicted as the original proprietors of the land, and their suffering is documented as the curriculum describes how the land was wrested from them. While the curriculum does not include a lesson plan instructing teachers how to address the Mountain Meadows Massacre in class, it does provide information on the massacre from the perspective of Paiutes today.

The curriculum's homepage (<http://www.utahindians.org/Curriculum/index.php>) provides a link entitled Tribal Histories. Upon selecting Paiute History, one finds a document entitled, "A Brief History of Utah's Paiutes." The document addresses the Mountain Meadows Massacre as follows.

One of the most controversial events involving the Southern Paiutes occurred in September 1857 near what is now Cedar City, Utah. At the Mountain Meadows Massacre, more than one hundred emigrants bound for California were attacked and murdered. For over a century, the common history was that Paiute Indians first attacked the wagon train. The Paiutes then supposedly appealed to LDS settlers for aid, and the settlers approached the emigrants under a flag of truce. After convincing the emigrants to give up their weapons, the settlers led the wagon train to a secluded spot, where they subsequently slaughtered most of the emigrants. Here again the Mormons claimed that Paiute Indians took part in the treachery, and for years the Paiutes bore the brunt of the blame for this tragic event. While many aspects of the massacre are still shrouded in mystery, it is important to stress that Paiute oral tradition *strongly indicates* that the Paiutes did not participate in either the initial attack or the following massacre. (p. 11)

In addition to this statement, the five-part DVD set accompanying the curriculum contains commentary on Paiute oral histories of the massacre. The DVD entitled *Paiutes* displays Massacre at Mountain Meadows on its main menu. Upon selecting this chapter, the landscape of the Mountain Meadows appears and an unseen narrator explains, "Proximity to the Mormon settlements dragged the Paiute people into one of the most controversial events in Utah history." The narrative discusses the attack on the Fancher-Baker train and then states: "When the murders were discovered by the outside world, local Mormon leaders blamed the Paiutes for the attack and kidnapping of the surviving children." An unnamed Paiute woman then appears on the program. She explained, "And they said that we had taken these children, but these children...they were safe. From what the great grandmothers said, if we had them we would have little white kids running

around with us, little half breeds if we had adopted them or taken them or stolen them.”

Following this statement, an unnamed Paiute man appears and relates the following oral history.

My grandma used to tell me that White people killed their own kind. They were shot through the head; they were killed. They actually have bones through the skulls that they were killed like that. There’s just so many things that aren’t answered. Even through the book, we’re always in it, the Paiutes are always in it. Back in those days, who would give a Paiute a knife, let alone a gun, a rifle? And it’s never going to fade away, it never is, because somebody has to take responsibility for it. But, the Paiute people—we’re not worried about it. Because we weren’t involved. But when they say Paiutes were involved, then that’s when you think, “Well, how can they be involved?” when our oral history says different.

A second Paiute woman, who also is not identified, then appears and provides further insight on Paiute oral history.

One of the things that we look at as far as history is concerned—has always been oral, has been passed from one generation to the next. And that’s how it’s been carried. We’ve not had the capability to write things down as other folks have. That capability to document the dates, the time, who was involved. So on one hand you have it written, on the other you have it oral. And so, what we look at is oral history, what we have heard from our ancestors. And from our knowledge, many Paiute people here say that they were not involved. And I, too, agree with that.

Following this statement, the DVD again provides vistas of the Mountain Meadows landscape. The narrator’s voice then provides a closing comment: “More than one hundred and fifty years would pass before the Mormon Church would acknowledge local members of their church as the moving force behind the Mountain Meadows Massacre.”

Analysis of the Utah Indian Curriculum Project (2009), from an ideological perspective, suggested the purpose of this curriculum was not to offer a detailed narrative

of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but rather to provide a venue in which Paiute Indians could share their views of the massacre with Utah's school children. The document entitled "A Brief History of Utah's Paiutes" stresses that Paiutes have long been unjustly blamed for the crime and this point is reiterated in the DVD program. In the first two interviews presented on the DVD, Paiutes offer evidence, based on oral histories, indicating that Paiutes were not involved in the massacre. The third interview buttresses these accounts by discussing the culture of oral history among Paiutes and suggesting these oral histories are as valid as the written histories of other cultures. This point is enhanced by the narrator's observation that the Mormon Church recently acknowledged that its traditional, written history—which exculpated Latter-day Saints from responsibility for the massacre—was not accurate. As shown on Figure 1, I interpreted the Utah Indian Curriculum Project (2009) as presenting Mormons as entirely culpable for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with no Paiute involvement.

**The Utah Story: The People, Places, and Events
that Shaped Our State (Sorensen, 2011)**

This textbook was published by Bonneville Books in Springville, Utah. Biographical information about its author, Seth Sorensen, is provided in the book's closing pages. Sorensen was born in Utah and completed undergraduate work at Utah State University before receiving a master's degree in curriculum, instruction, and assessment from Walden University. When *The Utah Story* was published, Sorensen worked in Utah as the curriculum specialist for Nebo School District. He had also worked as the district social studies specialist.

Sorensen did not write a preface or statement of purpose in *The Utah Story* (2011). However, the book's table of contents shows Sorensen's wide-ranging intent in discussing Utah's history and culture, although he did not provide a reference list of his sources. A chapter entitled "Five Native Tribes" (p. 16) presents information on Paiutes, including a brief explanation of their homelands, worldviews, lifestyle, diet, and customs. Sorensen also wrote a chapter called "The Mormon Pioneers," (p. 32) which provides a description of Utah's colonization, but avoids laudatory language concerning the LDS Church. In a chapter entitled "War and Conflict" (p. 58), Sorensen discussed the Utah War and suggested it was "largely based on misunderstandings and a lack of information on the part of the federal government" (p. 58). A heading entitled The Mountain Meadows Massacre then appears with the following narrative, which constitutes just under one page of the 95-page book.

At the height of the conflict, on September 11, 1857, over 120 settlers traveling from Arkansas to California—including unarmed men, women, and children—were killed in southwestern Utah by a group of local Mormon militiamen, possibly with the help of Paiute allies. This tragic event was later called the Mountain Meadows Massacre. While this incident was probably connected to the hysteria surrounding the approaching federal army, which invaded Utah in 1857, two major theories exist on why the leader of the group, John D. Lee, committed such an act.

The first is that Brigham Young, acting through other Mormon leaders, ordered him to commit this act. There is little evidence to support this theory, however. The more probable theory is that he acted under his own direction. This is evident in several letters written shortly after the terrible event. He had written a letter to Brigham Young shortly after the massacre, in which he blamed the massacre on Paiute Indians, but even among his own neighbors, there were many rumors of Lee's guilt. Another letter later confessed that he had been involved in the event. Lee was later excommunicated from the church for his involvement.

In 1858 a federal judge came to southwestern Utah to investigate the massacre and Lee's part in it, but Lee went into hiding, and local Mormons refused to

cooperate with the investigation. Lee was arrested many years later in 1874 and found guilty. He was executed at Mountain Meadows on March 23, 1877. (p. 58)

This narrative is accompanied by an image of John D. Lee and a separate image of the 1999 monument at Mountain Meadows.

The first paragraph of Sorensen's (2011) narrative firmly places responsibility for the massacre on local Mormon militiamen led by John D. Lee. In fact, Lee is the dominant subject in the narrative. Sorensen swiftly exonerated Brigham Young by asserting that "little evidence" (p. 58) exists to prove his guilt. In contrast, Lee is condemned through an abundance of evidence, including his own confession. Sorensen suggested it is possible that Paiutes may have assisted Mormons in carrying out the atrocity. The only other mention of Paiutes occurs in the statement that Lee blamed them for the massacre. No motive is given for the Mormons' perpetration of the massacre other than "the hysteria surrounding the approaching federal army" (p. 58). Sorensen failed to relate why this hysteria resulted in the murders of "unarmed men, women, and children" (p. 58). He did, however, suggest that justice for the massacre of these people was at least partially served through the excommunication and execution of John D. Lee. As depicted on Figure 1, I interpreted *The Utah Story: The People, Places, and Events that Shaped Our State* as presenting White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

Chapter Summary

As was illustrated in Figure 1, assertions of culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre have varied significantly in the thirteen Utah history and social

studies curricula published between 1908 and 2011. Of the eight textbooks published before 1999, only one presented Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre. Four presented Paiute Indians as primarily responsible, two made no mention of the massacre, and one presented Mormons and Paiutes as equally culpable. In spite of these differences, the first eight textbooks shared much in common. For example, they were all written by Latter-day Saints, and four of them were written by prominent Mormon leaders. The authorship of these state sanctioned textbooks evidences the extensive influence Latter-day Saints held in Utah society in the first half of the 20th century (Apple, 1979; Nash et al., 1997). For instance, the use of words such as “we” (L. E. Young, 1912, p. 51) and “our” (Hunter, 1960, p. 231) in these textbooks was inclusive of Latter-day Saints, but dismissed non-Mormons and Indians as “others” who occupied a diminished status in Utah (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Said, 1978).

Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in the first eight textbooks indicate the authors were interested in protecting the reputation of the LDS Church. Five of them explicitly exculpated Brigham Young from responsibility for the massacre. Furthermore, some of these textbooks obscured or repudiated the idea that the massacre occurred as a result of directions from *any* LDS Church official—including local leaders. For example, Whitney (1908) incriminated John D. Lee for his role in the massacre but did not reveal that Lee was a local Mormon ecclesiastical and militia leader. Evans indicated in 1933 that the White men involved in the massacre “were acting in their own individual capacity, not by reason of any order, expressed or implicit, from any church man” (p. 149). However, by 1972, Ellsworth was willing to concede that “orders were

given” by local “Mormon military leaders” (p. 217), although he did not indicate who those leaders were.

In their efforts to distance the LDS Church from responsibility for the massacre, authors of early Utah textbooks focused culpability on Paiute Indians and John D. Lee. Until 1999, textbooks employed negative stereotypes of Indians as uncivilized, violent, and vengeful to validate assertions of Indian culpability for the massacre (Ostler, 2004). Whitney (1908) asserted that “red men” and “savages” (p. 104) participated in the massacre under the direction of John D. Lee, “the chief criminal” (p. 104). Evans (1933b) indicated Lee defied the policy of LDS Church leaders by joining Indians in committing the crime. In contrast, from 1970 to until 1999, Lee and other White Mormons involved in the massacre were portrayed as victims who were compelled by Indians to participate in the atrocity.

The tenor of Utah history and social studies curricula changed drastically in 1999 when Holzapfel described Paiute Indians as “generally peaceful” people who were “coerced” (p. 171) by the local Mormon militia to take part in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Although subsequent changes to Holzapfel’s narrative altered this explanation, no Utah textbook since 1999 has portrayed Paiute Indians as bearing primary responsibility for the massacre. In addition, the textbooks published in 2008 and 2011 demonstrated a more nuanced and pluralistic historiography by acknowledging that some scholars disagree in their interpretations of the massacre. However, the most significant development in the history of curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre was the production of *We Shall Remain: Utah Indian Curriculum Project* in 2009. For

the first time, Paiute Indians were provided an official venue to declare their history of the massacre, which indicated that Paiutes were in no way involved in the crime.

The data sets that follow—monument narratives, Latter-day Saint Church curricula, and Paiute Indian narratives in Chapter V, and historical scholarship in Chapter VI—provide valuable information concerning the influences that contributed to the changes in Utah history and social studies curricula described above.

CHAPTER V
DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF MONUMENT
NARRATIVES, LDS CHURCH CURRICULUM, AND
PAIUTE INDIAN NARRATIVES

Monument Narratives, LDS Church Curricula, and Paiute Indian Narratives

In the previous chapter I extracted data from Utah public school curricula to provide a basis for answering my research question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's history and social studies curricula? In this chapter I examine three additional data sets: monument narratives at the Mountain Meadows, LDS Church curricula, and Paiute Indian narratives. I described, analyzed, and interpreted narratives from each of these data sets according to the procedures outlined in Chapter III.

Monument Narratives

Like public school curriculum, public monuments portray the "official" knowledge (Apple, 2000) and interpretations of events societies deem important to pass on to succeeding generations of citizens (Eisner, 2002). Below I outline the history of monuments built at the Mountain Meadows. The first monuments were erected by units of the U.S. Army in 1859 and 1864. Subsequent monuments constructed in 1932, 1990, 1999, and 2011 included markers with narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. After describing these narratives, I provide analysis and interpretations of them terms of Mormon-Paiute culpability for the massacre.

Early monuments at the Mountain Meadows. To understand the history of the early monuments built at Mountain Meadows, it is important to first recognize local residents' perceptions concerning the site of the massacre. After September 11, 1857, the Mountain Meadows—once considered a lush and peaceful grazing pasture—would forever be viewed differently. Ironically, the topography of the meadows changed drastically in the years following the massacre. Juanita Brooks (1962), a resident and historian of southern Utah, observed that “what had been a meadow of deep, luxuriant grass, became desolate, a dry, gravelly waste, barren of any vegetation” (p. 214). To many, the altered landscape reflected the ugliness of the crimes committed there. Brooks continued: “Students of soil erosion point to this as a classic example.... But old-timers knew better” (pp. 214-215). Among the Mormons of southern Utah, a general belief arose that “God had cursed the land, so that nothing could grow” (p. 214).

This belief was bolstered by other folklore that developed and persisted for over a century. Local residents spoke of the sounds of creaking wagons, gunfire, and screams of women and children that continued to echo through the meadows years after the massacre (Birney, 1931). As a child, Eleanor Tom, a Paiute Indian born in 1924, regularly walked through the meadows with a friend. She recalled: “We weren't scared. But my grandmother told us if you have to go through there, you better hurry and get through before it gets dark. Because she said you could hear crying and screaming at night” (Hebner, 2010, p. 79). Juanita Brooks (1962) reported that “so many were the tales, so vivid the imaginations, and so revolting the reality, that local people shrank from traveling over the place, even in the daytime” (p. 214). The land thus assumed new

meaning. It was transformed from “the best grazing tract in Utah Territory” (Carleton, 1859) to a place of distress and horror, sorrow and suspicion.

The landscape of the Mountain Meadows—and the meaning associated with the land—were further altered by the construction of monuments. U.S. Army major James H. Carleton and his cavalry unit built the first monument at Mountain Meadows in May 1859. They were sent from California with orders to bury the bones of the victims that had been uncovered from their shallow graves and strewn about the meadows by wolves. After locating and interring the remains of 34 victims, Carleton and his men erected a rock cairn. The cairn was 12-feet high and 50-feet in circumference at the base (Carleton, 1859). At the top of the cairn they placed a wooden cross that extended upward another twelve feet. On the cross the soldiers carved a foreboding biblical quotation, “Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord” (Romans 12:19). At the base of the cairn they inscribed two stones with statements. One read, “120 Men, women, & Children, Murdered in Cold Blood Early in Sept 1857 From Arkansaw,” [sic] while the other bore the signature of the cairn’s creators, “Erected by Company K 1st Dragoons May 1859” (Carleton, 1859).

Local Mormons likely viewed the monument with disdain. It stood as a towering public memorial of a crime which most of them wished had never occurred, and which some of them had sworn to keep secret (Brooks, 1962). Moreover, the monument was not built by themselves, but by outsiders whom most Mormons still viewed as enemies. Indeed, some may have questioned Carleton’s motives in building the monument. Did he intend only to memorialize the victims, or did he also desire to disgrace the Mormons? It

is clear from Carleton's writings that he clearly attributed responsibility for the massacre to Mormons, "those relentless, incarnate fiends" (Carleton, 1859). In his official report on the massacre, later published by Congress, Carleton averred "there is not the shadow of a doubt that the emigrants were butchered by the Mormons themselves, assisted doubtless by the Indians." In assigning culpability for the crime to Mormons, Carleton meant "nearly the whole Mormon population, from Brigham Young down."

Soon after Carleton and his troops departed from the meadows, a ballad about the massacre began circulating in southern Utah. Some local Mormons believed the soldiers composed the ballad's lyrics, which included the following lines:

They melted down with one accord like wax before the flame
Men and women, old and young,
O Utah, blush for shame! (Brooks, 1962, p. 215)

While the monument Carleton and his men constructed in 1859 memorialized the victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre and protected their remains, it also ensured that Utah's principal colonizers, the Mormons, would indeed blush for shame. Despite the monument's lack of textual detail in describing and explaining the massacre, the structure embodied significant meaning to those who built it, and to the residents of southern Utah who viewed it as an instrument of incrimination.

Carleton's cairn stood for a relatively brief time but cast a long and influential shadow over the meadows. By the spring of 1862, less than three years after its construction, the monument lay in ruins. The previous winter the "Marvelous Flood of 1862" ravished southern Utah, "destroying homes, forts, schoolhouses, farms, orchards, vineyards, dams, and canals throughout the region" (Brown, 2011, p. 6). Although the

flood likely contributed to the monuments' destruction, Brigham Young generally was held responsible for the deed. While traveling through Utah's southern settlements, Young and an entourage of some 60 Mormons stopped at Mountain Meadows on May 25, 1861. After reading the inscription on the cross Brigham Young declared, "It should be Vengeance is mine and I have taken a little" (Woodruff, 1984, p. 577). Whether Young used the pronoun "I" to refer to himself or to the Lord is a matter of ongoing debate among historians (Bagley, 2002a; Brown, 2011; Turner, 2012). Juanita Brooks (1962) reported that her grandfather, Dudley Leavitt, was at the meadows that day and later told his sons that after Brigham Young made the statement cited above:

He didn't say another word. He didn't give an order. He just lifted his right arm to the square, and in five minutes there wasn't one stone left upon another. He didn't have to tell us what he wanted done. We understood. (p. 183)

A corroborating though less unequivocal account came from a contemporary of Dudley Leavitt named Samuel Knight, who later told an interviewer that Carleton's monument "was torn down...perhaps by some of Prest. Young's company who passed through" in 1861 (Brown, 2011, p. 10). In 1874 the Salt Lake Tribune similarly reported that "the monument was destroyed by the Mormons, who could not stand such a rebuke of their diabolical guilt" ("Mountain Meadows Monument," 1874, p. 2). Hubert Bancroft (1889) subsequently cemented this view when he wrote in his *History of Utah* that the monument's "cairn, cross, and slab are said to have been destroyed by order of Brigham" (p. 557).

In contrast to these assertions, three other accounts of the day's events written by eye witnesses mention nothing of the destruction of the monument (Brown, 2011). One

of these was composed by an ex-Mormon whose writings were critical of Brigham Young (“The Meadows!,” 1874). In addition, a non-Mormon mail carrier who passed through the meadows in late May or early June of 1861 reported to a California newspaper that he saw the monument intact (Purple, 1861). The fact that he was traveling behind Brigham Young’s entourage appears to negate the notion that Young and his party were responsible for the monument’s ruin (Brown, 2011).

On May 24-25, 1864, Captain George F. Price of the U. S. Army and his company of cavalry repaired the grave and rebuilt the stone cairn at Mountain Meadows. Price and his men also constructed a new cross and placed it atop the cairn. The structure was considerably smaller than the original, rising 14 rather than 24 feet from the ground. On the east side of the cross soldiers again inscribed the words, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay saith the Lord,” and underneath these they wrote, “Mountain Meadows massacre, September 1857” (Price, 1864, p. 2). On the opposite side of the cross were the words, “Erected by the officers and men of Company M, 2d California Cavalry May 24 and 25th, 1864” (Price, 1864, p. 2). In a letter published in a Utah newspaper called the *Union Vedette*, Captain Price (1864) clearly stated his belief that those who perished at the meadows “were betrayed and massacred in cold blood by white fiends and their Indian allies” (p. 2). The monument he built was “at once expressive of our horror at the act—our respect for the memory of the murdered dead, and our sympathy for their fate” (p. 2).

Like Carleton’s cairn, the 1864 monument did not stand long without alteration. On July 1, 1864, just over 1 month after the monument was constructed, Lorenzo Brown passed through the Mountain Meadows and saw that someone had added the following

inscription to the cross: “Remember Hauns [sic] mill and Carthage Jail” (Brooks, 1962, p. 183). These words referred to the massacre of seventeen Mormon men and boys by a Missouri militia in 1838 and the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum at Carthage, Illinois in 1844. The added inscription seemed to interpret the Mountain Meadows Massacre as an act of retribution for past offenses against the Mormon people. In time the cross vanished and the cairn was reduced in size. Samuel Knight, a Mormon who resided at the north end of the meadows and participated in key events surrounding the massacre (Walker et al., 2008), stated that the monument “gradually disappeared” (Brown, 2011, p. 10). In contrast, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported on May 27, 1874, that the monument had been demolished, and attributed this to “the Destroying Angels of Zion” (“Mountain Meadows Monument,” 1874, p. 2). Whether the 1864 monument was depleted by nature, human hands, or a combination of the two remains an ambiguity of history. However, it is clear that the monument engendered controversy and misgivings—much like the one that preceded it. To the men who built it, the monument symbolized the need to memorialize the innocent dead and attest to the crimes of their murderers. In contrast, to the local Mormons who apparently defaced it, the monument was an object of contempt.

1932 monument. Attitudes of local Utahns concerning the presence of a monument at Mountain Meadows generally softened after those who had direct knowledge of the massacre passed away. In 1931 Frank Beckwith, Sr., published an article in the *Millard County Chronicle* calling for the construction of a new monument and pleading that “it ought not be done by outsiders to our state of Utah but by our own

people, by we Utahns ourselves” (p. 4). Beckwith continued:

How nice it would be to hold a great state gathering at the site of the Mountain Meadows with officials of different churches, state officials, local and eminent men, and then in a proper contrite spirit UTAH show its manliness and place itself right with a criticizing world. (p. 4).

In 1932, a local civic leader, LDS ecclesiastical leader, and amateur historian named William R. Palmer led residents of southern Utah communities in constructing a stone and cement wall, four feet in height, which enclosed the grave and remnants of the 1864 monument (Brooks, 1962). Two years earlier Palmer began lobbying the state of Utah’s Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association to officially recognize the site of the massacre. At that time, the president of the Utah Pioneer Trails and Landmarks Association was George Albert Smith, a member of the LDS Church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a grandson of George A. Smith (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.). The association granted Palmer’s request and installed a bronze plaque at the monument site which read:

No. 17 - Erected 1932

Mountain Meadows

A favorite recruiting place on the Old Spanish Trail

In this vicinity, September 7-11, 1857 occurred one of the most lamentable tragedies in the annals of the west. A company of about 140 Arkansas and Missouri Emigrants led by Captain Charles Fancher, en route to California, was attacked by white men and Indians. All but 17, being small children, were killed. John D. Lee, who confessed participation as leader, was legally executed here March 23, 1877. Most of the Emigrants were buried in their own defense pits. (Brooks, 1962, p. 221)

When the monument was dedicated on September 10, 1932, some 400 local residents attended. Juanita Brooks (1962) was present and later penned the following

description of the ceremony.

The music was appropriate for a funeral; the speeches gave no word of justification or condemnation either of the emigrants or the participants. Everywhere was the feeling of regret that such a thing had happened.... The service was one in which the emigrants, themselves, or their families and friends could have joined whole-heartedly. (p. 221)

Later, the U.S. Forest Service posted a sign to help visitors locate the road leading to the Mountain Meadows. Juanita Brooks noted in 1950 that the meadows and the monument erected there were attracting “more and more visitors each year” (1962, p. 221). In 1966 the LDS Church purchased the property on which the monument stood. Brooks (1962) reported that church leaders “at once adopted a policy of ‘discouraging’ visitors” (p. xviii). The Forest Service sign disappeared, a picnic table was removed from the monument site, and upkeep of the road leading to the meadows was neglected until it became inaccessible (Brooks, 1962). However, “by early summer of 1967 the furor of tourist groups and traveling clubs forced the County Commission to repair the road and to keep it open and passable” (Brooks, 1962, p. xvii).

In summary, the 1932 monument and dedication service signified an increased willingness on the part of some local citizens and officials of the state of Utah to publicly acknowledge the massacre and express regret for it. This was also the first monument to include a marker with a narrative of the massacre. Although terse in detail, the marker clearly presented a statement of culpability for the atrocity. It mentioned White men before Indians in describing the wagon train’s attackers, and it named John D. Lee as the confessed leader of the attack. As illustrated on Figure 2, I interpreted the 1932

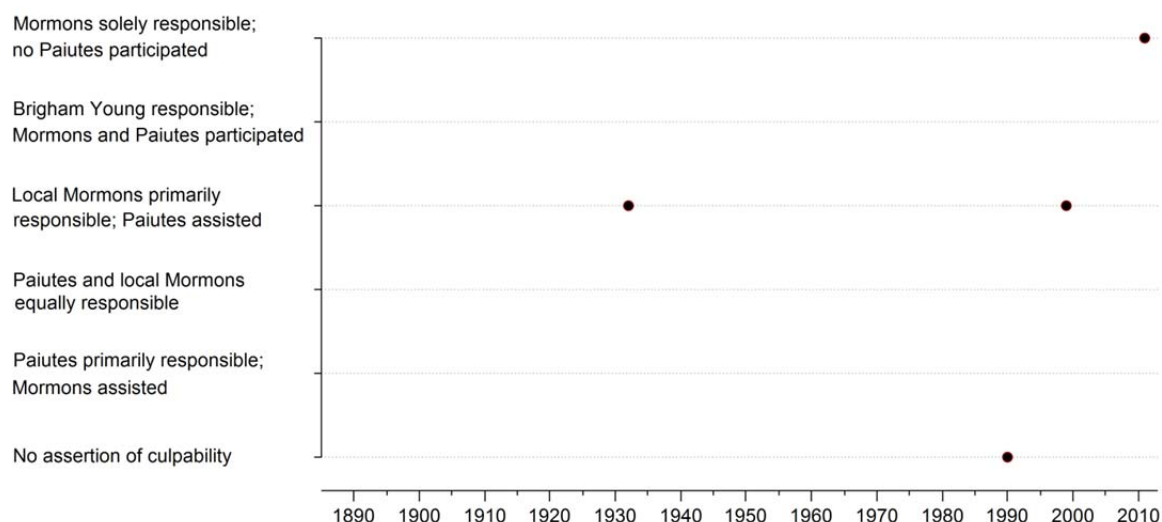


Figure 2. Monument narratives.

monument as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

1990 monument. In 1988, Ron Loving, a descendent of victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, became acquainted with Verne Lee, a descendent of John D. Lee. The two men decided to form the Mountain Meadows Association (MMA) to “protect and preserve the graves of the victims, and the surrounding Mountain Meadows area, and to remember those who were killed in deference to the wishes of the descendant families” (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.). The MMA worked with the State of Utah to construct an additional monument atop Dan Sill Hill, which overlooks the Mountain Meadows. The monument included a large granite wall listing the names of those who were killed and the children who survived the massacre. The center portion of the monument bears the following inscription.

IN MEMORIAM

In the valley below between September 7 and 11, 1857, a company of more than 120 Arkansas emigrants led by Capt. John T. Baker and Capt. Alexander Fancher was attacked while en route to California. This event is known in history as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.)

In addition, the 1932 bronze plaque was replaced by a marker that stated:

MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE

This stone memorial marks the burial site for some of those killed in the Mountain Meadows Massacre in September 1857. The Baker-Fancher party camped here—a well-known stopping place along the Old Spanish Trail.

The first memorial was erected at this location in May 1859 by Brevet Major James H. Carleton and 80 soldiers of the First Dragoons from Fort Tejon, California. Assisting were Captains Reuben P. Campbell and Charles Brewer, with 201 from Camp Floyd, Utah. The bones of about 34 of the emigrants were buried here. The remains of others were buried one and one-half miles to the north, near the place of the massacre.

The original memorial—consisting of a stone cairn topped with a cedar cross and a small granite marker set against the north side of the cairn—was not maintained. The Utah Trails and Landmarks Association built a protective wall around what remained of the 1859 memorial and, on September 10, 1932, installed a bronze marker. That marker was replaced with the present inscription in conjunction with the dedication of the nearby memorial on September 15, 1990. (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.)

Approximately 2,000 people attended the dedication services for the new monument, which was held at Southern Utah University in Cedar City. Judge Roger V. Logan, Jr., of Harrison, Arkansas, a descendant of more than 20 of the massacre victims, spoke at the ceremony and declared, “There is now an appropriate monument standing in the place of the emigrants’ demise” (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.). Logan read the names of the victims and asked the descendants who were present to stand in their honor (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.). Paiute Indian Tribal Chairwoman General

Anderson introduced Paiute spiritual leader Clifford Jake, who performed a prayer ceremony centered on the theme of reconciliation (Webb, 1990). Brigham Young University President Rex E. Lee, a descendant of John D. Lee, also offered remarks and then welcomed several descendants of massacre victims to the podium, where he joined them in embracing and clasping hands. Lee also invited the audience to stand and clasp hands with one another in a gesture of reconciliation (Webb, 1990). Gordon B. Hinckley, a member of the LDS Church's First Presidency, concluded the ceremony and observed that "a bridge has been built across a chasm of cankering bitterness" (Florence, 1990).

In its inception, construction, and dedication, the 1990 monument symbolized cooperation, reconciliation, forgiveness, and healing among the descendants of the people who were involved in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The markers added to the meadows at that time focused on memorializing the victims and made no reference to those who were responsible for the tragedy. Therefore, as shown on Figure 2, I interpreted the 1990 monument as asserting no culpability concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

1999 monument. An earthquake that occurred in 1998 dislodged and damaged portions of the 1990 monument at Mountain Meadows. Gordon B. Hinckley, who became LDS Church President in 1995, visited the meadows after the earthquake. He then arranged a meeting with members of the MMA and told them he was embarrassed by the condition of the monument (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.). Following this meeting, the LDS Church worked directly with descendants of massacre victims to repair the damage to the 1990 monument and to rebuild the cairn and surrounding rock wall at

the gravesite. A plaza and black iron fence were also built around the gravesite.

On August 3, 1999, as workers were excavating a portion of the land to build the new wall, they uncovered the remains of twenty-nine massacre victims (Novak, 2008). Three days later, Utah state archaeologist Kevin Jones issued a permit to excavate the site in accordance with state law. The disinterred bones were taken to Brigham Young University for study. Later they were transported to the University of Utah to undergo forensic analysis by bioarchaeologist Shannon Novak (Novak, 2008). Novak's analysis was cut short when Utah Governor Mike Leavitt ordered that the remains must be returned to the meadows by September 10, the date which some of the descendants of massacre victims had scheduled for a private burial service. The governor's executive order aroused new controversy. Some claimed that because Leavitt was a Mormon and a descendant of massacre participant Dudley Leavitt, his order was motivated by a desire to prevent Novak from gathering evidence that would further implicate Mormon pioneers as the primary perpetrators of the massacre (Denton, 2003; C. Smith, 2000a).

As these events were taking place, the MMA and the LDS Church proceeded with the construction of the new monument. The MMA also installed new markers indicating the location of various burial sites of the victims and detailing the history of the monuments that had previously been erected (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.). An additional marker provided the following narrative of the massacre:

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE

Led by Captains John T. Baker and Alexander Fancher, a California-bound wagon train from Arkansas camped in this valley in the late summer of 1857 during the time of the so-called Utah War. In the early morning hours of September 7th, a party of local Mormon settlers and Indians attacked and laid

siege to the encampment. For reasons not fully understood, a contingent of territorial militia joined the attackers. This Iron County Militia consisted of local Latter-day Saints (Mormons) acting on orders from their local religious leaders and military commanders headquartered thirty-five miles to the northeast in Cedar City. Complex animosities and political issues intertwined with deep religious beliefs motivated the Mormons, but the exact causes and circumstances fostering the sad events that ensued over the next five days at Mountain Meadows still defy any clear or simple explanation. During the siege, fifteen emigrant men were killed in the fighting or while trying to escape. Then late Friday afternoon, September 11th, the emigrants were persuaded to give up their weapons and leave their corralled wagons in exchange for a promise of safe passage to Cedar City. Under heavy guard, they made their way out of the encirclement. When they were all out of the corral and some of them more than a mile up the valley, they were suddenly and without warning attacked by their supposed benefactors. The local Indians joined in the slaughter, and in a matter of minutes fourteen adult male emigrants, twelve women, and thirty-five children were struck down. Nine hired hands driving cattle were also killed along with at least thirty-five other unknown victims. At least 120 souls died in what became known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.)

On September 11, 1999, a public ceremony including approximately one thousand people was held at the Mountain Meadows. Shirley Pyron spoke on the feelings of descendants and relatives of massacre victims. She concluded her remarks with an expression of hope: “May this be a day of new beginnings; with feelings of forgiveness and love for one another and compassion for all who have been touched by this tragic event” (Pyron, 1999). Gordon B. Hinckley commented on the efforts the LDS Church had made to build the monument and improve the grounds, but also cautioned: “That which we have done here must never be construed as an acknowledgment of the part of the church of any complicity in the occurrences of that fateful day” (C. Smith, 2000b).

The construction and dedication of the 1999 monument sparked the inception of two additional organizations—the Mountain Meadows Monument Foundation (n.d.) and the Mountain Meadows Massacre Descendants (n.d.)—to represent the viewpoints of

relatives of the massacre victims in protecting and preserving the site of the massacre.

The 1999 monument became the site of a historic gathering on September 11, 2007—the 150-year anniversary of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Representatives of the descendants and relatives of massacre victims offered remarks. Lara Tom, chairwoman of the Paiute Tribe of Utah, spoke of the blame Paiute Indians had unjustly borne for the massacre and received a standing ovation from the audience (“Mountain Meadows Regrets,” 2008). Henry B. Eyring of the LDS Church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles attended as a representative of the church. He read an official statement expressing that “responsibility for the massacre lies with the local leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the regions near Mountain Meadows who also held civic and military positions and with members of the church acting under their direction” (Eyring, 2007). Eyring added:

We express profound regret for the massacre carried out in this valley 150 years ago today and for the undue and untold suffering experienced by the victims then and by their relatives to the present time.

A separate expression of regret is owed to the Paiute people who have unjustly borne for too long the principal blame for what occurred during the massacre. Although the extent of their involvement is disputed, it is believed they would not have participated without the direction and stimulus provided by local Church leaders and members.

Although the planning of the 1999 Monument began through the initiative of LDS leaders in an effort to continue the process of conciliation began in 1990, the subsequent construction and dedication of the monument produced a mixture of sentiments and reactions. The exposure of victims’ remains, Governor Leavitt’s order to swiftly reinter them, and Gordon B. Hinckley’s statement exculpating the LDS Church of any

complicity in the massacre begat fresh controversies and sparked old misgivings. Perhaps these events overshadowed the placement of a new marker that offered details of the massacre that had never before been presented as part of an official monument. While acknowledging that some Indians joined in the massacre, the marker indicated that it began with the orders of local LDS religious and military leaders and primarily involved a contingent of the territorial militia. This language spread responsibility for the massacre throughout the local LDS communities rather than focusing it on one man, John D. Lee. As depicted on Figure 2, I interpreted the 1999 monument as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

2011 monument. In early 2008, the LDS Church purchased 600 acres of land at Mountain Meadows to prevent the construction of a residential subdivision there. Following requests from descendants of massacre victims, the church also announced its intention to petition the U.S. federal government to name the Mountain Meadows as a National Historic Landmark (“Church Seeks National Historic Landmark Designation,” 2008). This designation was granted in June 2011, and an official dedication ceremony was held on September 11, 2011. The previous day, descendants of massacre victims gathered approximately one mile north of the 1990 and 1999 monuments to dedicate a new memorial. It marked the location where boys and men of the Baker-Fancher train were murdered after being lured from the siege site. The marker included the following inscription.

NEVER TO BE FORGOTTEN

In memory of the emigrant men and boys from Arkansas massacred here in Mountain Meadows on September 11, 1857. Their lives were taken prematurely and wrongly by Mormon militiamen in one of the most tragic episodes in western American history.

May we forever remember and honor those buried in this valley. May we never forget this tragedy but learn from the past.

Massacre of Men and Boys

On September 11, 1857, a procession of Arkansas emigrants bound for California marched northward up this valley having been persuaded to leave their besieged camp by Mormon militiamen, bearing a white flag, who falsely promised them protection. As directed by the militia leaders, the women, children and wounded left the camp first. The men and older boys were last to leave, each escorted by a militiaman. As the men neared this spot, a signal was given. The militiamen at their sides turned and fired upon the unarmed emigrant men and older boys. Within minutes all were dead, their bodies strewn near the wagon road. Further up the road, the women, children and wounded who had traveled ahead were also murdered. Only 17 children, aged six and under, survived. (Mountain Meadows Association, n.d.)

This narrative primarily focuses on one aspect of the Mountain Meadows

Massacre—the murder of the boys and men—and clearly states that Mormon militiamen were responsible for this act. The narrative does not mention the initial siege against the wagon train, which may have involved Paiute Indians. In addition, it provides only a brief allusion to the murder of the women, children, and wounded. Although several histories indicate the latter murders included Paiute participation (Brooks, 1962; Holt, 1992; Walker et al., 2008), the 2011 monument makes no assertion of culpability for these murders. Thus, the monument names only Mormon militiamen as responsible for the massacre. As shown on Figure 2, I interpreted the 2011 monument as representing White Mormons as wholly responsible for the massacre.

Summary of monument narratives. Conflict continued to mar the Mountain Meadows long after the massacre occurred. This conflict centered on the treatment of the remains of the people who perished there and the monuments and markers erected in their memory. Jared Farmer (2010) observed that monuments and landmarks are emblems of meaning that represent society's choices to remember or forget certain events. The initial monuments built at the meadows represented a contest between those who wanted to remember what occurred there and those who desired to forget. In time, this contest was subsumed by a shared desire to memorialize the people who perished at Mountain Meadows. Figure 2 indicates the ambivalence these monuments have represented over time. The 1932 monument was the first built by southern Utah residents who were the neighbors and relatives of those responsible for the massacre. The monument recognized the victims of the massacre but also acknowledged the errors of their forebears, although it perpetuated the idea that John D. Lee was principally responsible for Mormon involvement in the massacre. The 1990 monument was the first to embody the combined efforts of Latter-day Saints, Paiute Indians, and the descendants of massacre victims to promote reconciliation concerning the massacre. In seeking this reconciliation, the issue of culpability was temporarily set aside. In 1999 the LDS Church took the lead in funding and constructing a new monument to further promote understanding and goodwill between the three groups primarily interested in the massacre—descendants of massacre victims, Paiute Indians, and Latter-day Saints. Rather than avoiding the issue of culpability, the 1999 marker stated that local White Mormons committed the atrocity under orders from their local ecclesiastical and military leaders, who also secured the

assistance of some Paiute Indians. The 2011 monument was the first memorial to be erected primarily through the agency of massacre descendants, and mentioned only Mormon militiamen as responsible for the massacre. In sum, narratives placed on markers at the Mountain Meadows have successively attributed a greater measure of culpability to White Mormons for the massacre. The monuments indicate that over time the LDS Church has made an effort to correct the historical record and yield to the desires of massacre descendants regarding endeavors to memorialize the victims of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Latter-day Saint Church Curricula

Due to the Latter-day Saints' hegemonic influence within Utah since the 1850s, LDS curricula include valuable data that can help to explain changes in narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah public school curricula (Apple, 1979; Banks, 2002). Six church-sanctioned texts authored between 1922 and 2007 contained narratives of the massacre. These texts varied in nature and purpose—from in depth histories of the LDS Church written for general study by church members, to textbooks written for youth enrolled in Church Educational System seminary and institute courses, to a major article appearing in the church's official magazine. After describing the narratives in these texts, I provide analysis and interpretations of them terms of Mormon-Paiute culpability for the massacre.

Essentials in Church History (J. F. Smith, 1922). This book was printed as an official publication of the LDS Church. Joseph Fielding Smith (1876-1972) prepared the volume as a general resource for Latter-day Saints as well as a textbook for a variety of

church classes. For years it was also required reading for Mormon missionaries (Lyman, 2010). It would be difficult to overstate the impact of this book on Latter-day Saints' understanding of their past. Twenty-six editions of the volume were printed over a period of 51 years. The book's influence grew over time with the prominence of its author (Arrington, 1998). Smith's grandfather was Hyrum Smith, the brother of Mormonism's founder Joseph Smith. At age 34, Joseph Fielding Smith became a member of the church's Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, a position he held for 60 years. For 49 of those years he also held the position of Church Historian and Recorder. He served as president of the church from 1970 until his death in 1972 (Arrington, 1998).

Joseph Fielding Smith (1922) devoted a chapter of *Essentials in Church History* to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. He began the chapter by effusively condemning the massacre as “the most horrible and shocking crime ever perpetrated within the borders of the state”; “a bloody and diabolical deed”; and “a crime for which there can be no apology or excuse, a thing treacherous and damnable in the extreme” (p. 418). Accompanying these condemnations is Smith's position on culpability for the massacre: “It was the deed of enraged Indians aided by a number of white men” (p. 418). The chapter's first footnote includes a direct citation of Bancroft (1889) who wrote that the massacre “was the crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst stamp” (p. 544).

Smith repeated the traditional allegations that members of the Baker-Fancher train abused the Mormon people and deliberately poisoned Indians as they passed through Utah. He recounted the notion that Indians first ambushed the train and later called “for

reinforcements from among their tribes, and for John D. Lee, who had been in close touch with Indian affairs as their farmer, to come and lead them to victory” (pp. 421-422). Lee “seemed to partake of the frenzy of the red men” (p. 422) and either compelled or persuaded other White men to join him and the Indians in carrying out the massacre. Afterwards, the White men lied to Brigham Young about the massacre and laid blame solely with the Indians. When the truth was discovered, Lee and his White companions were excommunicated from the church, and Lee eventually was executed by the civil authorities. Smith suggested that others who escaped the penalties for the crime in this life would receive justice in the next.

In terms of ideology, the narrative clearly serves the purpose of distancing the LDS Church from any sense of culpability for the massacre. The narrative’s omissions buttress this idea. Isaac C. Haight and William Dame are not mentioned, likely because their roles as Mormon militia and ecclesiastical leaders would severely complicate the narrative’s basic premise—that the massacre was perpetrated by Indians and a few rogue White men. Tellingly, Lee only became involved as he partook “of the frenzy of the red men” (p. 422). This claim shifts ultimate responsibility for the massacre to the Indians and also explains their motives by implying that they were naturally irrational and violent people (Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004). Thus, by perpetuating long-held stereotypes and simplifications, *Essentials in Church History* instructed Latter-day Saints that their church was only nominally connected to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. As shown on Figure 3, I interpreted *Essentials in Church History* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

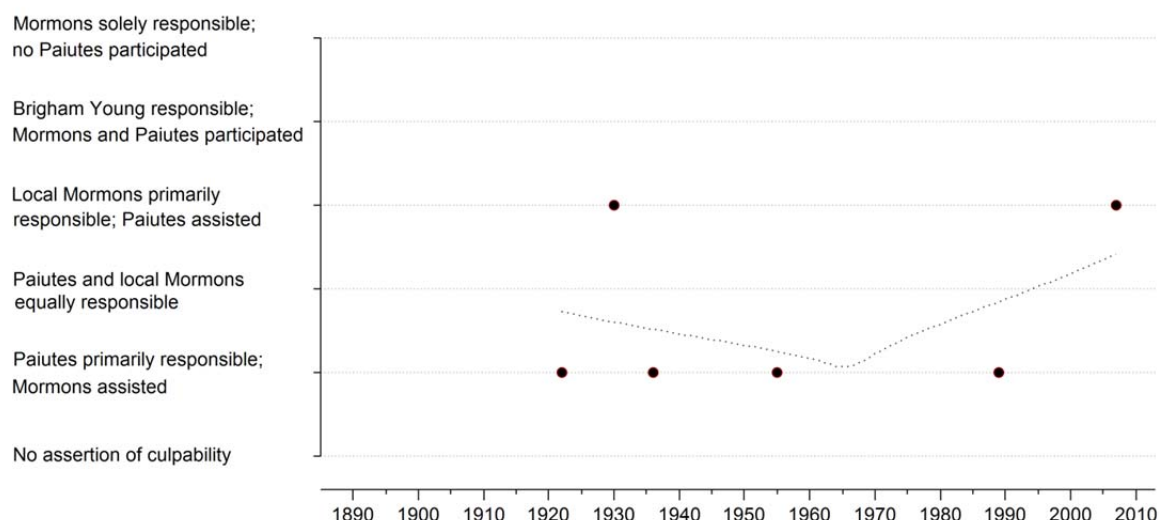


Figure 3. Latter-day Saint Church curricula.

A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

(Roberts, 1930). B. H. Roberts (1857-1933) served as a general authority of the LDS Church in the First Council of the Seventy from 1888 until his death in 1933. He was widely considered to be one of Mormonism's greatest intellectuals and the faith's most rigorous early historian (Arrington, 1969). From 1909 to 1915 Roberts published a serial history of the church in *Americana*, a monthly periodical published by the American Historical Society. In 1930 the church republished the history as a six-volume set of books.

Although a reading committee composed of LDS leaders Orson F. Whitney, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Charles W. Penrose reviewed the manuscript, B. H. Roberts (1930) indicated that he maintained responsibility for the content of *A Comprehensive History*. In the preface, Roberts stated that the work would not present Mormon leaders as infallible, for he believed their "human limitations" had been "plainly manifested on

many occasions and in various ways, both in personal conduct and in collective deportment” (vol. 1, p. viii). Rather, he would “frankly state events as they occurred, in full consideration of all related circumstances, allowing the line of condemnation or of justification to fall where it may” (p. ix). Such a position takes on added import when one considers Roberts’ later statement, made in the third person, that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was “the most difficult of all the many subjects with which he has to deal in this *History*” (vol. 4, p. 139).

At the beginning of his narrative of the massacre, Roberts (1930) conceded that Latter-day Saints had been “naturally slow to admit all the facts” (p. 139) relating to the atrocity. He noted the difficulty of trying to reconstruct the causes and events that led to the initial attack on the train because of the unreliability of related statements made by John D. Lee. However, as to the final massacre, Roberts was much less tentative.

It appears that leading spirits among the white settlers who had assembled at Mountain Meadows determined upon the destruction of the emigrants; and in order that it might be accomplished without risk to themselves it was decided to decoy the emigrants from their fortified camp, disarm them and treacherously put them to death. The conception was diabolical; the execution of it horrible; and the responsibility for both must rest upon those men who conceived and executed it; for whatever of initiative may or may not have been taken by Indians in the first assault upon these emigrants, responsibility for this deliberately planned massacre rests not with them. (p. 156)

Roberts (1930) reported that Mormon settlers and Indians together executed the final massacre, then shared in plundering the victims’ property. Yet “it was the intention of the white men engaged in the tragedy to place the responsibility for it upon the Indians” (p. 162). In his report to Brigham Young, John D. Lee carried out this plan by claiming that only Indians were involved in the massacre. In spite of this initial cover up,

Roberts believed that during George A. Smith's 1858 investigation of the affair, Smith was able to ascertain that White Mormons were involved in the killing, and he criticized Smith's official report that perpetuated the claim that the atrocity was an Indian massacre.

In time Brigham Young became aware of John D. Lee's role as "the most conspicuous leader in that horrible crime" (p. 175) as well as Isaac C. Haight's "responsibility for failing to restrain Lee and to take prompt action against him, since he was Lee's superior officer in the church" (p. 178). Young responded by excommunicating these men from the church. While Roberts impugned local Mormon leaders Lee and Haight for orchestrating the massacre and even censored the top-level leadership of George A. Smith for allegedly overlooking the crimes of these men, he concluded: "This much I hold to be clear, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints bears no stain, and carries no responsibility for bloodshed at any time or any place" (p. 177).

Roberts' (1930) admission that Latter-day Saints had been "naturally slow to admit all the facts" (p. 139) signaled his willingness to explore culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a way that previous Latter-day Saint historians had not. His assertion that responsibility for the massacre ultimately did not rest with Indians clearly placed the burden of guilt upon Mormons. At the same time, however, Roberts was adamant that Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City were in no way complicit in planning or executing the massacre. His narrative omitted analysis of the role Brigham Young or George A. Smith may have played in creating the climate in which the massacre occurred. Likewise, Roberts overlooked the relationship between the massacre

and the confluence of ecclesiastical and military positions held by southern Utah's Mormon leaders. Although he conceded that George A. Smith likely concealed the involvement of local Mormons in the massacre, Roberts ultimately crafted his narrative to repudiate allegations of institutional culpability on the part of the LDS Church. As illustrated on Figure 3, I interpreted *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

The Restored Church (Berrett, 1936). This book was published by the LDS Church's Department of Education. The book's author, William E. Berrett (1902-1993), worked for several years in the church's seminary program, graduated from law school at the University of Utah, and then became a writer and editor of curriculum for the LDS Church Educational System. Berrett went on to become a professor of Church history at Brigham Young University, a vice president of the university, and then head of the LDS seminary and institute program. He composed *The Restored Church* to preserve "the story of the courageous, patient, sacrificing and devoted pioneer" (p. ix), and to present "the history of the Church as an evidence of the vitality of Mormonism" (p. x). The text was reviewed by a committee of church educators—including Milton R. Hunter, who authored the two Utah history texts that were used in the public schools from 1943 to 1970. It also received suggestions from Church Historian Joseph Fielding Smith. *The Restored Church* passed through sixteen editions between 1936 and 1974, and thus served as the curriculum for tens of thousands of young Latter-day Saints. No changes to the book's narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre appeared in any of those

editions.

Berrett (1936) presented an entire chapter on the massacre, which followed a chapter on the Utah War. Using the earlier works of Mormon authors (Penrose, 1889; J. F. Smith, 1922; Roberts, 1930) as his sources, Berrett reported that some of the Mormons in southern Utah were “resentful and suspicious” (p. 484) of the Baker-Fancher wagon train, which purportedly included Missourians who had persecuted Mormons in the past. But the greater problem stemmed from the emigrants’ alleged abuse and poisoning of several Paiute Indians. Berrett reported that “the Indians had been difficult to control before, but now it became impossible [for the Mormons] to control them” (p. 484). The Indians’ “law demanded blood vengeance against any of the offending tribe” (p. 485). Although the Mormons typically helped resolve disputes between emigrants and Indians, they refrained in this instance because of the Missourians’ taunts against them.

The narrative presented James Haslam’s roundtrip ride from Cedar City to Salt Lake City to show that Brigham Young directed the Mormons to let the emigrants go in peace. However, before Haslam returned, several hundred Indians attacked the wagon train and were later joined by “a number of white men” (Berrett, 1936, p. 486). The siege on the wagon train eventually resulted in “a deliberately planned massacre, treacherously carried into execution” (p. 486). Berrett indicated that “the white men at a given signal, fell upon the unarmed emigrant men” while “hundreds of Indians, who had lain in ambush, rushed upon the hapless party” (pp. 486-487). News of the atrocity “was a shock to the leaders of the Church, and brought a deep and sincere sorrow to the entire territory” (p. 487). Although Brigham Young was willing to help bring the perpetrators to

justice, he was replaced as governor. Subsequently, the civil authorities did not investigate the massacre until 20 years later. Berrett concluded: “The perpetrators were never held guiltless by the Church and the Church must not be condemned because of the vile deeds of a few of its members” (p. 488).

In this narrative, Mormons and Indians are first presented as victims of the emigrants’ abuse. When Paiutes consequently became violent and uncontrollable and attacked the wagon train, Mormons were merely bystanders. Berrett’s (1936) assertion that a few White Mormons eventually assisted hundreds of Indians in carrying out the massacre is significant. These lopsided numbers underscored the narrative’s purpose of assuaging the notion that Mormons were generally responsible for the crime. In addition, Berrett was careful to point out that Brigham Young and the LDS Church should not be held accountable for the actions of “a few of its members” (p. 488). As shown on Figure 3, I interpreted *The Restored Church* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

The Kingdom of God Restored (Grant, 1955). Carter Eldredge Grant wrote this book under the prodding of Adam S. Bennion, Administrator of the LDS Church Educational System and a member of the church’s Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Grant received a bachelor’s degree in western history from the University of Utah under the supervision of Levi Edgar Young and worked as a teacher and principal in the seminary system for 31 years. He also helped to write curriculum for the church’s Sunday Schools. The dust jacket of *The Kingdom of God Restored* identified Grant as “a descendent of the pioneers.” Within the preface Grant described himself as “a hero

worshipper” who possessed “a keen love for Church history stories and biographies” (no page). Grant mentioned that he deliberately maintained the book’s content “within the bounds of the standard works and writings of the Church” (no page.). He also acknowledged the help of Joseph Fielding Smith, William E. Berrett, and a three-member Church Publications Committee who read and approved the manuscript. The book was used as curriculum in some seminary classrooms. However, the fact that only four editions were printed indicates it was eclipsed in popularity by Berrett’s volume, *The Restored Church* (1937).

Although *The Kingdom of God Restored* (1955) contains three chapters on the Utah War, the book treats the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a separate chapter entitled “Colonization—State of Deseret—Territory of Utah—Indian Wars” (p. 466). A heading preceding Grant’s account of the massacre refers to “Indian Troubles” (p. 468), and the narrative begins under the heading “The Pillaging Missouri Wild Cats” (p. 470). Grant cited Joseph Fielding Smith’s *Essentials in Church History* (1922) to describe the emigrants’ alleged offenses and added, “they turned their horses, mules, and oxen into the ripening grain and cornfields of the Mormon farmers, and they were accused of poisoning springs, mistreating Indian girls and women, and killing several red men” (p. 470). Grant continued:

While this emigrant train was encamped at Mountain Meadows, 300 miles south of Salt Lake City, the enraged red men made a murderous attack upon the train. When the three-day massacre ended, September 7, 1857, every person in the encampment had been slain with the exception of seventeen small children, who were later sent to relatives in the East. Thirteen years after the massacre, certain evidence leaked out, revealing that several frenzied white men had taken part in the terrible battle, which up to that time had been blamed entirely upon the Indians. The Church immediately disfellowshipped several Mormons who had

participated in the massacre; furthermore, John D. Lee, an Indian agent, after being convicted by the federal government, was carried to the Mountain Meadows, the scene of the crime, March 23, 1877, and there, while sitting on his own burial box, was shot to death by the officers. (p. 470)

The placement of this narrative in a chapter about “Indian Wars” (Grant, 1955, p. 466) allowed Grant to preserve the reputation of the Mormon pioneers he revered and instead linked Indians to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The emigrants’ mistreatment of “Indian girls and women” and killing “of several red men” (p. 470) strengthened this link and provided the motive for “enraged red men” (p. 470) to attack the train. Only later was it apparent that “several frenzied white men” (p. 470) also participated. This description of the participation of White men precludes any idea that these men acted under the deliberate orders of southern Utah’s Mormon ecclesiastical and militia leaders. The narrative also distances the Church from the deeds of these men by mentioning that they were excommunicated. As depicted on Figure 3, I interpreted *The Kingdom of God Restored* (1955) as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

Church History in the Fullness of Times: The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, 1989). This book was created by an unnamed team of curriculum writers employed by the LDS Church Educational System. It was designed as a text for college-aged Latter-day Saints who are encouraged to enroll in institute of religion courses on LDS scripture, doctrine, and history. The book is also used as a general resource for all church members. Presently the church continues to print and distribute this book as approved curriculum.

Church History in the Fullness of Times (LDS, 1989) reproduces information

from *A Comprehensive History of the Church* (Roberts, 1930), *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Allen & Leonard, 1976), and Leonard Arrington's (1985) biography of Brigham Young entitled *American Moses* in its narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The narrative recounts the traditional alleged offenses of the Baker-Fancher party against the Mormons and then suggests that "the Indian problem in southern Utah complicated these circumstances" (p. 371). The narrative further explains that it was possible "that the Indians would turn on the Mormon settlers" (p. 371). After "a band of Indians attacked the Fancher Train" (p. 372), local Mormons met and discussed what to do. "Some of those with quicker tempers argued that the emigrants should be destroyed. They were afraid the emigrants might join a California-based army and fight against the Saints as they had publicly threatened to do" (p. 372).

Local Mormon leaders sent James Haslam "to seek the advice of Brigham Young," and John D. Lee was "sent to quiet the Indians" (p. 372).

[Lee] arrived at the Indian camp shortly after the first skirmish between them and the emigrants had occurred. Finding the Indians highly excited, Lee was in the dangerous situation of being the only white man present. He finally convinced the Indians that they would get their revenge, and he was allowed to leave.

Later that night, more Indians arrived at the camp together with a few white men from Cedar City. Sometime during the night, a diabolical plan was concocted, partly to placate the angry Indians. The next day, the morning of 11 September, the whites promised the emigrants protection if they would give up their weapons. The men of the Iron County militia, acting under orders from their local commanders, killed the men, while Indians slew the women and older children, approximately 120 in all. (p. 372)

The narrative concludes by stating that John D. Lee lied about the Mormons' involvement in the massacre and "placed all the blame on the Indians" (p. 372). Two decades later, "John D. Lee, a key participant, but certainly not the only officer

responsible for the deed, was the only Latter-day Saint indicted” (p. 372), and he was executed for the crime.

A theme that runs throughout this narrative centers on the perilous circumstances Latter-day Saints faced at the time of the massacre. The account suggests at least three times that Mormons were in danger because of Indians. It also mentions that Mormons feared that if the emigrants were allowed to live the emigrants would return and annihilate them. Mormon participation in the massacre is thus presented as a desperate attempt for self-preservation. The Indians, on the other hand, are presented as “excited,” “angry” (p. 372), and bent on revenge. In spite of the narrative’s admission that the massacre was carried out under orders of the local militia, it maintains the notion that Indians, not Mormons, were the dominant force behind the massacre. As shown on Figure 3, I interpreted *Church History in the Fullness of Times* (LDS, 1989) as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

“The Mountain Meadows Massacre” (Turley, 2007). This article appeared in the LDS Church’s official periodical, *The Ensign*, in commemoration of the 150-year anniversary of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The Church has used the article since 2007 as its official statement on the massacre. It was written by Richard E. Turley, Jr., who worked at that time as the church’s Managing Director of the Family and Church History Department. In 2008 Turley was appointed Assistant Church Historian and, with fellow Mormon historians Ronald Walker and Glen Leonard, published *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy*.

Turley (2007) began this article by describing the massacre as the deed of “some 50 to 60 local militiamen in southern Utah, aided by American Indian allies” (p. 14). Turley posed the question, “How could members of the Church have participated in such a crime?” (p. 14). He compounded this question by asserting that “nothing that any of the emigrants purportedly did or said, even if *all* of it were true, came close to justifying their deaths” (p. 14). To answer the question he posed, Turley explained that Mormons “were preparing for what they believed would be a hostile military invasion” (p. 15). Moreover, the “fiery rhetoric” and “wartime policies” of George A. Smith, Brigham Young, and other church leaders “exacerbated tensions and conflict between California-bound emigrants and Latter-day Saint settlers as wagon trains passed through Utah’s settlements” (p. 16).

After establishing that the deaths of cattle and humans along the emigrants’ route were caused by disease rather than poisoning, Turley (2007) cited verbal confrontations between members of the Baker-Fancher party and some Mormons in Cedar City as the motive behind the initial attack on the wagon train. Cedar City leaders decided to persuade “the generally peaceful Paiutes” (p. 17) to kill some or all of the men in the train and steal their cattle. The city’s mayor, militia major, and chief ecclesiastical leader, Isaac C. Haight, recruited John D. Lee to help gather Paiutes and convince them to participate. They believed this plan would allow them to exact revenge on the emigrants and escape blame for it. However, after Lee and some Paiutes attacked the emigrants and a siege began, local Mormon leaders Isaac C. Haight and William H. Dame came to believe the emigrants were aware of the Mormons’ involvement. This led to the decision

to kill all of the emigrants who were old enough to comprehend and report the Mormons' connection. Turley noted that "despite plans to pin the massacre on the Paiutes—and persistent subsequent efforts to do so—Nephi Johnson later maintained that his fellow militiamen did most of the killing" (p. 19).

Brigham Young only gradually came to understand "the extent of the settlers' involvement and the terrible details of the crime" (Turley, 2007, p. 20), and this explains why he was slow to take action against the local Mormon leaders who were responsible for planning and ordering the massacre. As a byproduct of Isaac C. Haight's and John D. Lee's initial deception, Paiute Indians "suffered unjustly as others blamed them for the crime, calling them and their descendants 'wagon burners,' savages,' and 'hostiles'" (p. 20). Turley concluded by explaining that the LDS Church was working with "descendants and other relatives of the emigrants...to memorialize the victims" (p. 21).

This narrative set forth the idea that Mormons planned the initial attack on the Baker-Fancher train as well as the final massacre, and that they were primarily responsible for most of the killings that occurred. It repudiated notions that Mormons were victims of the emigrants' abuse and the Paiutes' fury and suggested instead that the emigrants and Paiutes were victims of the misdeeds of Mormons. While Brigham Young and George A. Smith may have contributed to the climate of hostility which the Baker-Fancher party encountered, ultimately the tragic decisions of the local Mormon ecclesiastical and militia leaders caused the massacre. As illustrated on Figure 3, I interpreted "*The Mountain Meadows Massacre*" (2007) as presenting White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local Paiute Indians assisting.

Summary of Latter-day Saint Church curricula. Figure 3 indicates that before 2007, LDS curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre presented a near-consensus view that Paiute Indians were primarily responsible for the massacre, with some White Mormons assisting. B. H. Roberts (1930) presented the only alternative view during this period. Significantly, curricula published after 1930 ignored Roberts' conclusions with regard to culpability for the massacre. Instead, subsequent curricula aligned with Joseph Fielding Smith's enduring and influential volume, *Essentials in Church History* (1922), which perpetuated the church's position published by Charles Penrose in 1889. Thus, by the time Turley (2007) authored a new curriculum that agreed with Roberts's assertion that White Mormons were primarily responsible for the massacre, he deemed it necessary to clear the record by stating frankly that for decades, Paiutes "suffered unjustly as others blamed them for the crime" (p. 20). However, Turley did not explain that these accounts were produced by the LDS Church.

Paiute Indian Narratives

Unfortunately, no efforts were made to record Paiute Indian accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre until the latter half of the 20th century. Early non-Mormon accounts of Paiute involvement in the massacre come through secondary sources. For instance, Judge John Cradlebaugh interviewed American Indians residing in Southern Utah in 1859 to learn their version of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Cradlebaugh (1863) later reported to Congress that several chiefs told him some of their men had participated in the massacre after being recruited by White Mormons. In another example, a resident of Delta, Utah named Frank A. Beckwith (1975) recorded the life

history of his friend, Joseph J. Pickyavit, who descended from the Pahvant Indians that lived near Corn Creek. This was the creek or spring which, according to traditional accounts of the massacre, allegedly was poisoned by the Baker-Fancher party. Pickyavit repudiated the story of poisoning and said his tribe had nothing to do with the Mountain Meadows Massacre. However, according to Beckwith, Pickyavit;

[He] had talked it over with the Indians in Cedar City, and knew their version, from the inside, and told me that he knew John D. Lee had summoned the Indians to do the deed, make the attack, wipe out the emigrants, on orders (or supposed orders), to later lay all the blame on the Indians, while Lee, with his face blackened, in company with others similarly disguised, assisted and directed the Indians.... He admitted readily that the Indians were in it, but summoned to take part, commanded to do so. (p. 120-121)

While these secondary accounts provide valuable information, they do not portray the words of Paiutes themselves. Included below are Paiute Indians' perspectives on the Mountain Meadows Massacre as they have spoken and written them. Some of these perspectives derive from oral histories traced back to Paiutes who witnessed the massacre. For instance, one narrative can be traced directly to a Paiute named Isaac Hunkup, who was an eyewitness of the massacre as a young man. Hunkup recounted his narrative of the massacre to fellow Paiutes until his death in 1942 (Hebner, 2010). Other narratives depict the conclusions of recent generations of Paiutes based on what they have heard about the massacre or studied in written histories pertaining to it. After providing citations and descriptions of these perspectives, I offer analysis and interpretations of them in terms of Mormon-Paiute culpability for the massacre.

Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976).

This book tells the story of the Nuwuvi, or Paiute people, from the Paiute point of view.

The book's preface expressed the need for this work.

Since the arrival of the white man, Native American children have been taught the ways and accomplishments of the newcomers. Schools have presented our past from a foreign point of view. This formal education practically insured the indoctrination or the failure of our young. Our people have learned of 'their' discoveries in our land, 'their' heroes in our wars, and 'their' victories over our people.

Though several historians have displayed a sensitivity for Indian life and culture, many have seen our reality from a distant vantage point. We have heard our beloved lands called "harsh," and our existence termed "savage." It is no wonder that their education has not had a positive effect on our lives. In their eyes, we have nothing in our past to be proud of....

All events have more than one interpretation. This is ours (p. 1).

In their treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the authors of *Nuwuvi* (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976) did not rely on Paiute oral narratives. Rather they cited historical documents such as Jacob Forney's (1859) official report of the massacre and the research of scholars such as Juanita Brooks (1944, 1961) and Pearson H. Corbett (1952). The book narrates the Mountain Meadows Massacre as having occurred in the context of the Utah War. Brigham Young sought to "continue the Mormon policy of forming an alliance with the Indians against the possibility of American invasion" (p. 79). As the Baker-Fancher wagon train was heading south "a rumor went ahead of the party that they had poisoned a well near Corn Creek, resulting in the death of twenty Indians and some Mormon stock" (p. 79). The narrative continued:

Whether this rumor was based on actuality or merely used by Mormons to justify their story that the Indians carried out the attack is unclear. Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jacob Forney, after extensive investigation, found no evidence among the Pahvants who lived on Corn Creek that the story was true. In fact, Forney decided that the Pahvants had not participated in the affair at all and that all Indians involved were from the Nuwuvi bands in the region of Mountain Meadows. Whatever the reason, upon camping at Mountain Meadows, the

emigrant train soon found itself under attack. After several days, they agreed to a truce with John D. Lee, who by that time was in charge of both the large party of Mormons who had gathered at the scene and of the Indians. The emigrant men were led out single file with a Mormon at each of their sides until the signal was given. Then they were shot. The women and older children also were killed. Only those under ten were spared.

After the massacre the Mormons, although admitting that a massacre had taken place, sought to place blame on the Indians. Subsequent investigation proved that although local Nuwuvi were involved, they played a secondary role to the local settlers in the actual murders. It probably will never be known how much the initial Indian attack was brought on by direct Mormon instigation or at least by Mormon encouragement. (p. 79)

This narrative twice acknowledges the participation of Paiute Indians. However, primary responsibility for the massacre clearly resides with the Mormons. While cautiously vague in setting forth causes for the initial attack, the narrative decidedly indicates that a local Mormon, John D. Lee, lured the emigrants from their defenses, that Mormon men orchestrated the final slaughter, and that Mormons then “sought to place blame on the Indians” (Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976, p. 79). Thus, as shown on Figure 4, I interpreted *Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History* as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

The Southern Paiutes: Legends, Lore, Language, and Lineage (Martineau, 1992). Though not a Paiute himself, Lavan Martineau (1932-2000) was an enthusiast of Indian cultures. He spent much of his life seeking to preserve and interpret the experiences of the Great Basin’s indigenous peoples. In this book, Martineau sought to preserve traditional Paiute narratives at a time when “the younger Paiute generation still spoke Paiute but was beginning to lose interest in their culture” (p. xv). Martineau asked

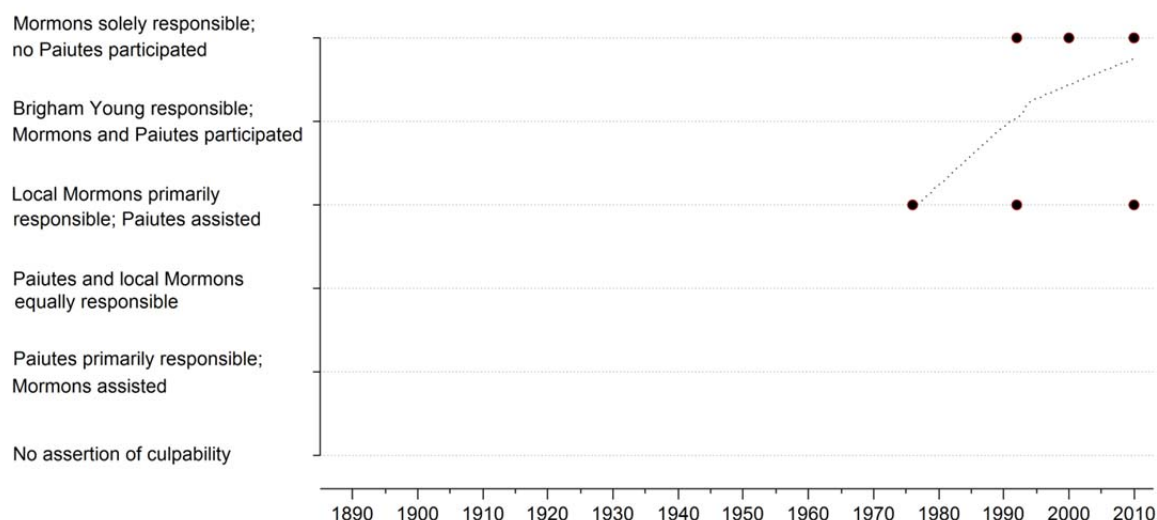


Figure 4. Paiute Indian narratives.

older Paiutes for information and then recorded what he was told.

In *The Southern Paiutes*, Martineau (1992) included two oral histories of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The first stated:

Two Indians saw the Mormons kill the white people at Mountain Meadows. The Mormons killed everyone, even women and children. The Mormons asked these two Indians to help them pack up all the booty. The Mormons kept the horses and milk cows, and they told the two Indians that if they saw any round gold pieces (coins) lying on the ground the Indians were not to pick them up because they were poison and would kill them. However, the Mormons picked up all the coins and put them in a sack and kept them. They hid everything else in a tunnel in a round red place down there someplace. The two Indians didn't help the Mormons in the killings. (p. 62)

The second narrative stated:

The Paiutes fought with soldiers near Iron Springs, Utah, before the Mountain Meadows massacre occurred. Isaac Hunkup was involved in that massacre. The Mormons told him and some other Indians that they could have all the loot except the round yellow stuff (gold). They said, "It was no good for the Indians." (p. 62)

These two oral histories agree in relating the idea that Mormons were responsible

for directing the events surrounding the Mountain Meadows Massacre. However, the narratives also diverge in some key ways. While the first narrative indicates that “the Mormons killed everyone” (p. 62), the second states that a man named Isaac Hunkup, a Paiute Indian, was involved in the massacre. In addition, the first narrative depicts Mormons as taking charge of the murdered emigrants’ possessions, and even suggests duplicity on the Mormons’ part for telling Paiutes that the emigrants’ gold coins would kill them. In contrast, the second narrative suggests Indians received the emigrants’ possessions with the exception of the gold coins. Because of these discrepancies, I have assigned two interpretations on Figure 4 for *Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History*. I interpreted the first narrative as presenting White Mormons as wholly responsible, with no Paiute involvement in the massacre. I interpreted the second narrative as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

The Paiute Tribe of Utah (Tom & Holt, 2000). This is a chapter which appears in a book entitled *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, edited by Forrest Cuch. The book was produced through the collaboration of the Utah Division of Indians Affairs and the Utah State Historical Society. The Utah State Legislature appropriated funds to provide copies of the book “to each public school and library in the state” (p. viii).

Contributors to the volume sought to “write the history of Utah’s first residents from an Indian perspective” (book jacket). The chapter on the Paiute Tribe of Utah was co-authored by a Paiute Indian, Gary Tom, and a non-Paiute, Ronald Holt. Tom grew up on the Kaibab Paiute Reservation, earned a master’s degree in education from Northern

Arizona University, and has worked since 1976 as Education Director for the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. Holt is a professor of anthropology at Weber State University. He became associated with Paiutes while conducting research for his doctoral dissertation, which he published as *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes* (Holt, 1992).

In their chapter on *The Paiute Tribe of Utah*, Tom and Holt (2000) described the Mountain Meadows Massacre as a result of Mormon-Paiute interaction, but also signaled that “the tragic event still remains somewhat clouded in mystery” (p. 131). They summarized the “basic account, current for decades now,” that “Indians initially attacked the wagon train—most likely under the urging or encouragement from local Mormon leaders” (p. 131). After the Indians were repelled they “were said to have appealed for assistance from area Mormons” (p. 131). After the emigrants surrendered and were killed it was claimed “that Native Americans helped take part in this brutal act of treachery” (p. 133). Tom and Holt then explained, “Accounts collected by the Paiute Tribe call into question this recounting of events, claiming that in great part Paiutes have been wrongfully blamed for assisting in something that was not of their making” (p. 133).

After providing this backdrop, Tom and Holt (2000) printed excerpts from Paiute oral histories. The first excerpt came from a transcript of an interview with Clifford Jake recorded in 1998, when Jake was 90 years old. Jake said he heard about the Mountain Meadows Massacre from a Paiute named Isaac Hunkup. Hunkup told Jake that “there was two brothers that come to the pine valley, hunting deer” who heard gunshots “and went up on the mountain” (p. 134). He continued, “There was a wagon train and the

people were shooting and killing the wagon train people” (p. 134) and then took their possessions. The two brothers then followed the murderers from a distance, watching from the rim of the mountain to see what they would do. “They followed them till they get to the place to where they are going to change their clothes...to New Harmony” (p. 134). There the brothers saw the murderers “clean themselves, they took off their Indian outfits off [sic]—clothes, Indian clothes. And they were white people.... They were white people that done it” (p. 134). The brothers then returned to their village to warn other Paiutes: “We are going to get blamed, going to get blamed for what those white people did. There were no Indians in that massacre” (p. 135). Jake then concluded, “The Paiute Indians around this area, they didn’t know anything about what happened over there.... Us Paiute nation got blamed for that” (p. 135).

Tom and Holt (2000) included another interview from a Paiute Indian named Will Rogers. The interview, recorded in 1998, recounted the massacre as Rogers heard it from another Paiute named John Seaman. In this narrative, there were four Indians who witnessed the massacre from atop a nearby ridge. “No Indians went down there, he said; them four guys stayed on that mountain...and watched them guys kill them people” (p. 135). He continued:

That time they were going to go down there, but they won’t let that Indians go down there, you know, after it happened.... There was a lot of that silver dollars was there; them little coins.... Indians you know they were going to get some that thing, they wouldn’t let them have any ‘cause that that was, uh, it was something no good, you get sick. “Don’t get it, don’t get anything,” he said [they] told them Indians. (pp. 135-136)

Tom and Holt (2000) reported that in other Paiute oral histories, the themes in the interviews cited above were repeated.

Paiute involvement was limited to hearing and watching from a distance the killing of the emigrants and some of their animals, and the robbing of the possessions of the dead. Some Paiutes reportedly followed the killers towards New Harmony and saw them take off their “Indian” clothes and bury and/or divide some of the stolen goods. Paiutes were told to avoid the area and not pick up any of the scattered money, as it was “bad medicine.” Area Paiutes were afraid that they would be blamed for the massacre and sent word of it to surrounding band areas to warn others. (p. 136)

Tom and Holt (2000) also commented that elements of these oral histories “certainly are plausible and deserve serious consideration in attempts to understand that tragedy” (p. 138). On the other hand, “the fact that so much evidence, including relevant pages from the journals of many settlers, has been lost or destroyed, testifies to many Native Americans and their sympathizers that much of the official history cannot be considered to be complete or truthful” (p. 138). Tom and Holt concluded their treatment of the Mountain Meadows Massacre by asserting that there is evidence that some Indians “were involved at least in the initial siege of the wagon train,” yet “Paiutes claimed they had nothing to do with the initial attack, and, even after some Paiutes answered a summons from Mormon leaders to come to the area, their assistance was non-existent or minimal” (pp. 138-139).

In terms of ideology it is evident that Tom and Holt (2000) not only sought to legitimize Paiute oral histories as important sources for understanding the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but also desired to probe the accuracy and validity of traditional non-Paiute accounts of the event. They did this by noting the consistencies in the Paiute oral histories and by questioning the sources of the non-Paiute accounts. Ultimately they concluded that even if there were some Paiute involvement in the atrocity, it was miniscule in proportion to that of the Mormons. As depicted on Figure 4, I interpreted

The Paiute Tribe of Utah as representing White Mormons as wholly responsible for the massacre.

Southern Paiute: A Portrait (Hebner, 2010). This book, published by Utah State University Press, contains a collection of recent oral histories recorded and transcribed by William Logan Hebner. The oral histories are accompanied by large scale, close up photographs of the southern Paiutes who participated in the interviews. Hebner explained his purpose in creating the book: “This special generation of elders was passing on, without notice it seemed, and I was baffled and frustrated by the demeaning images of the Southern Paiutes” (p. 6). Included among the interviews are the perspectives of several Paiutes concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Eleanor Tom, one of Hebner’s (2010) interviewees, recalled:

My grandmother Mabel Wall heard stories about all this Mountain Meadows. She lived to a hundred and two. There was two Indians that saw what was happening with the white people dressed as Indians. They heard gunshots and whooping and hollering. Granpa said we never did that hollering. One followed them, saw them wash their faces off. They came back saying it was the Mormons. Those Mormons did that to their own people. One went ahead to Sham to tell them what he saw. They knew right then and there they’d be blamed. They then went from band to band to tell what they saw. They blamed all that on the Indian People. (p. 79)

Another Southern Paiute, Arthur Richards, recounted the massacre as he heard it from his “stepdad’s uncle” (Hebner, 2010), Isaac Hunkup, who said he witnessed the event in person.

He was telling us about that massacre. It really upset me when I was a kid; been with me a long time. Made me feel real bad. Made me angry. They sure made us look like hell in some of the books they wrote. We never say nothin’ about it. Mormons were on the Indians all the time. ...In those days the Indians didn’t know how to talk English. When they did, do you think the whites could believe them? No.

When they killed them, the Mormons took all the wagons, all the cattle, then buried all them bodies. They knew they done something wrong. They wanted the gold. They just killed them off and that was it. Indians didn't get nothin'.

It wasn't the Indians' fault, but they were involved in it. I know that story about the Shivwits brothers watching from the hills; that's probably true too, but there was Indians there. The Mormons talked them into the killing. Isaac told me they were just using the Indians, that they dressed up like Indians. They told the Indians they [the Fancher party who were killed] were coming to take their land. I guess that was true. I don't know if alcohol involved or what, but they took all the valuables, the jewelry, everything. (p. 87)

Hebner (2010) also interviewed Will Rogers, whose perspective of the massacre was recorded earlier and presented in the history of Paiute Indians written by Tom and Holt (2000). Rogers' second narrative characterized his source for the narrative, John Seaman, as a witness of the massacre. In his previous narrative, Rogers characterized Seaman as a secondary source who said four Paiute Indians saw the events from atop a nearby ridge (Tom & Holt, 2000). With the exception of this discrepancy, the narrative was essentially unchanged. Whites dressed like Indians, killed the emigrants, and told Indians not to take the gold coins or they would become sick (Hebner, 2010).

Another Paiute, Eldene Snow Cervantes, offered a perspective that was influenced by an encounter she had with a renowned historian of the massacre.

I heard about that Mountain Meadows from an old white woman at that old folks home there on Diagonal Street. I used to take care of the patients. Her family was big in town. She talked to me about it. She said when she was young she heard my people killed some white people. But she knew that wasn't true. She said I know it was the white men that did that, the big white men, the Mormons, she was saying. That Joseph Smith? No, that Brigham Young, she was telling me. It was them, not the Indians. Had nothing to do with it, she told me.

I used to talk with her all the time; at first she said nothing. After a while she'd start to talk about the old days when she was young. She just brought it up. I was quiet. She said they dressed up like us Indians, trying to be like us, come out, and ambushed some other people from back east. I came back and told my older sister

about it, that the Mormons did that. My mother was born at Mountain Meadows, but she never mentioned it. The white woman put it more clear to me than the Indians did. She was old old old. Her name was Juanita Brooks. (Hebner, 2010, p. 98)

Eunice Tillahash Surveyor compared the effect of the Mountain Meadows

Massacre on Paiute Indians to a recent fire that burned a significant portion of Paiute reservation lands.

They said these white men, they all dressed up in Indians [sic], paint themselves up, that's when they done that. That John Seaman and Mustache Frank would tell each other stories of what happened at Mountain Meadows....

Well of course if the church is involved, of course they want their name cleared and accuse the Indians for it. That's the main thing they want to see is to have people look up to them and say, "Well the bad Indians did it." They have to protect their religion. That makes me feel angry, because they lied. They like to lie, just to protect themselves from people having other opinions about them. We need a lot of apologizing from the white people. Yeah, that would be a good thing. They are overrunning us. Like the other day, the Apex fire. They thought that nothing valuable burned up there; they think that it was a little grass fire. But it destroyed a lot of our reservation: the plants, the food, the deers, the rabbits, all the animals up there that were one time living up there. It's just pitiful. They're just giving him a little sentence. They want to seal them kids against it. You know damn well they're gonna lie. Do you think if an Indian doing it they'd let him off? There's a cover up.

This fire we had up here is similar to the massacre. They don't want to be mentioned, those Mormons. That fire, just like Mountain Meadows. They don't want people to know it was them. They don't want to come out with the truth. (Hebner, 2010, p. 112)

Willie Pete described his efforts to learn about the massacre.

After the war [World War II], I started digging into that Mountain Meadows Massacre, see what happened. Traced it back. I guess dad was raised right there, back of the Santa Clara River, in the valley there, back before there was a reservation. He lived to a hundred and ten years old. I read the book, the one by this woman named [Juanita] Brooks. Pretty good. When the Mormons got kicked out of Illinois, they had those carts, marching by foot. I can't remember the town, why, their guy got killed. Brigham Young took over, brought them into Utah. When that wagon train from Arkansas came into Salt Lake, some of these

Mormons, they seen this guy that was among the ones who killed the leader of the Mormon tribe. So that's when Brigham Young let the word out. Get a bunch of troops together. Kill 'em all, I guess he said. So he got the word to Lee, took the blame, Lee says, okay, you're the boss. Dad didn't know John D. Lee. Never brought that subject up. (Hebner, 2010, p. 117)

The final narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* (Hebner, 2010), was given by Darlene Pete Harrington. She stated that her grandfather witnessed the massacre. He then decided to move his family away from southern Utah, to Caliente, Nevada, because he knew Indians would be blamed for the atrocity. Harrington elaborated:

When I was still in grade school, I caught pneumonia, so they put me in the hospital. They released me and Gramma had to go to work, so Grampa and I decided we'd go sit in the sun. That's when he told me about that Mountain Meadows Massacre. I guess he thought I was old enough. He told me he seen it.... So he told me that he seen those white people killing those other white people. They were dressed as Indians. They were killing those white people down there. He had to stay up on that mountain long enough to see what was going to happen. They burned those covered wagons. It took them a while to bury those. They were buried. It come from his mouth. Grampa wouldn't lie. (p. 122)

Six of the seven narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre found in *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* (Hebner, 2010) affirmed that Paiute Indians did not participate in the massacre. Moreover, three of the narratives frankly state that Mormons lied and blamed Paiutes in order to conceal their role in the massacre. Based on these narratives, I interpreted *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* as presenting White Mormons as solely responsible, with no Paiute involvement in the massacre. I gave the indicating mark on Figure 4 a weighted emphasis to accurately represent these six narratives. This explains why the Loess line trends significantly upward on the right hand side of the figure. To represent Arthur Richards' narrative which conceded Paiute involvement, I included a

second interpretation for *Southern Paiute: A Portrait* on Figure 4. This interpretation presents local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting. However, it is significant that Richards' narrative, which came from the account of Isaac Hunkup, is rife with sorrow and indignation that Paiutes had borne an unjust burden of culpability. In summary, the narratives in *Southern Paiute* overwhelmingly convey the idea that Paiutes are more accurately viewed as victims rather than perpetrators of the massacre.

Summary of Paiute Indian narratives. As evidenced in Figure 4, there is not a traditional, consensus view among Paiute Indians with regard to culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. However, comparison of these narratives reveals a significant shift beginning in the year 2000. The data sources published before 2000 include only one Paiute narrative that asserts White Mormons were wholly responsible for the massacre. However, since 2000 only one Paiute narrative has been published indicating White Mormons were *not* wholly responsible for the massacre—that they were assisted by some Paiute Indians. This shift corresponds with the increasing effort in recent years to record Paiute oral histories and perceptions of the massacre. In sum, as a growing number of Paiutes have shared their perspectives, a mounting body of evidence has resulted suggesting Paiute Indians either enacted a secondary role in the massacre, or were not involved at all.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I described, analyzed, and interpreted narratives of the Mountain

Meadows Massacre as presented in monument markers at the Mountain Meadows, in LDS Church curricula, and in Paiute Indian accounts. Narratives associated with monuments at the Mountain Meadows have gradually attributed a greater measure of culpability to White Mormons for the massacre. In contrast, LDS Church curricular narratives of the massacre held a steady position from 1922 until 2006, with the exception of the account found in B. H. Roberts' (1930) history. The standard Latter-day Saint position affirmed that Paiute Indians were primarily responsible for the massacre, with some White Mormons assisting. In 2007, Richard Turley authored a new curriculum intending to correct the record and indicated that White Mormons were primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting. Paiute Indian narratives have wavered between two trends: One has indicated that White Mormons were primarily responsible, with some Paiute Indians assisting, and the other has asserted that White Mormons were solely responsible, with no Paiute involvement. However, since the year 2000, the majority of Paiute narratives have affirmed that Paiute Indians were in no way involved in the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The following chapter includes my description, analysis, and interpretations of scholarly histories. Then, in Chapter VII, I analyze the relationships between the various sources of narratives to answer this study's research question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula?

CHAPTER VI

DESCRIPTION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION OF SCHOLARLY HISTORIES

As illustrated in this chapter, professional historians' interpretations of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have been anything but static over time. These changing interpretations, coupled with emergent historical evidence, provide important information that helps me explain why narratives of the massacre have evolved in Utah's public school curricula. Below I describe, analyze, and interpret 13 influential histories that presented accounts of the massacre between the years 1889 and 2012.

Historical Accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre

History of Utah (Bancroft, 1889)

Hubert Howe Bancroft was a wealthy entrepreneur who viewed the process of chronicling the history of the American West as an opportunity to create and sell books. Consequently, he put together "an assembly line history factory in San Francisco where he and his staff collected, researched, wrote, published, and marketed his multivolume history of the states and territories of the Pacific Slope" (Topping, 2003, pp. 15-16). Intent on including a volume on the history of Utah in his series, Bancroft approached LDS leaders to request source material. In exchange for their cooperation in the project, the Mormon hierarchy gained assurance from Bancroft that their historians would help draft and edit the volume (Arrington, 1992; Topping, 2003). Mormon leaders viewed the project as an opportunity to counteract the barrage of anti-polygamy invective then

directed toward the LDS Church in the national press (Fluhman, 2012; Givens, 1997; Topping, 2003). Aware that the deal he struck with Mormon leaders would thwart his book's claims of objectivity, Bancroft frankly admitted in the preface that much of the book's narrative "is from the Mormon standpoint, and based entirely on Mormon authorities" (p. ix). However, to balance this bias, Bancroft also wrote that the footnotes to his text contained "in full all anti-Mormon arguments and counter-statements, thus enabling the reader to carry along both sides at once" (p. ix).

In his survey of major works on Utah history, Gary Topping (2003) noted that Bancroft's *History of Utah* had a significant effect on subsequent texts.

As a sort of lowest common denominator between Mormon and non-Mormon views of Utah and the Mormons, it pleased virtually everyone and held its place in Utah literature for many years. As late as 1954, Utah historian S. George Ellsworth asserted that "it is still a useful standard narrative." (p. 16)

Bancroft's *History of Utah* (1889) devotes an entire chapter to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which directly follows a chapter on the Utah War. The book's narrative of the massacre commences by refuting the idea that Brigham Young may have ordered the massacre.

It may as well be understood at the outset that this horrible crime, so often and so persistently charged upon the Mormon church and its leaders, was the crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst stamp, one who was a member of the Mormon church, but of whose intentions the church knew nothing, and whose bloody acts the members of the church, high and low, regard with as much abhorrence as any out of the church.... The Mormons denounce the Mountain Meadows massacre, and every act connected therewith, as earnestly and as honestly as any in the outside world. (p. 544)

The account that follows clarifies that John D. Lee was the aforementioned fanatic. The text does not conclusively state whether the initial attack against the wagon

train was made “by Indians, or white men disguised as Indians” (Bancroft, 1889, p. 530). However, it plainly indicates that local militia leaders planned the massacre after the initial siege against the wagon train failed. This position is substantiated by footnotes containing references to Judge John Cradlebaugh’s (1859) report assigning primary blame for the massacre to the Mormons. While ultimately placing responsibility on John D. Lee, the text paints a vivid picture of Mormons and Indians collaborating in the horrific slaughter of the emigrants.

The women fell on their knees, and with clasped hands sued in vain for mercy; clutching the garments of their murderers, as they grasped them by the hair, children pleaded for life, meeting with the steady gaze of innocent childhood the demoniac grin of the savages, who brandished over them uplifted knives and tomahawks. Their skulls were battered in, or their throats cut from ear to ear, and, while still alive, the scalp was torn from their heads. (pp. 553-554)

The narrative also gives brutal descriptions of the killings of the sick and wounded emigrants and concludes, “the massacre was now completed, and after stripping the bodies of all articles of value, Brother Lee and his associates went to breakfast returning after a hearty meal to bury the dead” (pp. 554-555).

Bancroft’s *History of Utah* (1889) offered only tentative explanations of the murderers’ motives. These include a desire for revenge on the part of local Mormon settlers for depredations they experienced at the hands of Missouri and Arkansas citizens, and lust of the emigrants’ property on the part of Mormon settlers and Indians. Furthermore, the book explains that the massacre was not immediately investigated and prosecuted because Brigham Young was in the process of being replaced as governor of the territory. However, the text implies that justice was served in the case of John D. Lee at the time of his execution.

In terms of ideological intent, Bancroft's *History of Utah* (1889) leaves no doubt as to the innocence of Brigham Young and the guilt of John D. Lee, who is depicted as a merciless criminal. The clarity of these points remains intact even as the narrative descends into an ambiguous discussion of Lee's accomplices and their motives. This ambiguity fades momentarily as the narrative portrays in vivid detail the horrific acts allegedly committed by demoniac "savages" (p. 554). A postcolonial reading of this account suggests this aspect of the narrative is a ploy to shift a measure of culpability from Mormon colonizers to Indians (Blackhawk, 2008). However, because the narrative affirms that John D. Lee persuaded and led White and Indian participants in the attacks upon the wagon train, I interpreted Bancroft's *History of Utah* as portraying local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting. This interpretation is depicted on Figure 5.

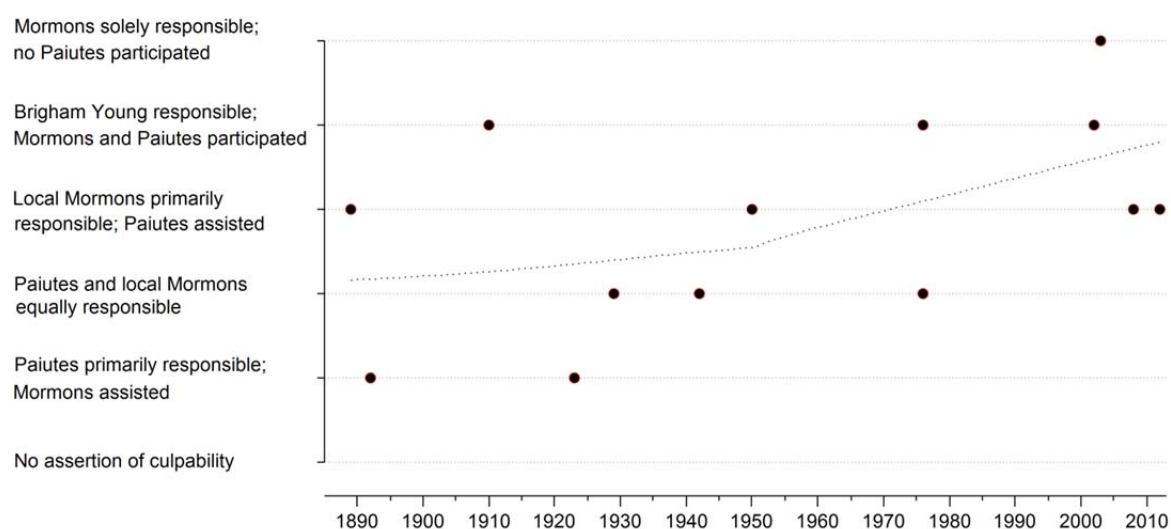


Figure 5. Historical scholarship.

History of Utah (Whitney, 1892)

Just 3 years after Bancroft published his *History of Utah*, Orson F. Whitney produced the first of a four-volume work bearing the same name. Featuring high-quality portraits of prominent LDS leaders throughout its pages, Whitney's *History of Utah* embodies the celebratory version of Mormon history. Whitney undertook the work as an assignment from LDS Church President Wilford Woodruff, and a reading committee appointed by the church reviewed his writings for approval (Bitton & Arrington, 1988). LDS authorities also supplied Whitney with eyewitness accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre by Mormon participants. These accounts were transcribed by assistant church historian Andrew Jenson, who was commissioned by the First Presidency in January 1892 to collect testimonials from Church members in southern Utah who had firsthand knowledge of the massacre (Walker et al., 2008). To meet a publishing deadline in March 1892, the First Presidency assigned John Q. Cannon to assist Whitney in composing the text of *History of Utah*. Cannon, the son of First Presidency member George Q. Cannon, helped write the portion of the book dealing with the Mountain Meadows Massacre (Walker & Turley, 2008). Due to Cannon's role and the oversight of LDS leaders, the massacre narrative in Whitney's *History of Utah* is more accurately viewed as a collaborative text rather than Whitney's own interpretation of the event.

History of Utah (Whitney, 1892-1904) situates the Mountain Meadows Massacre in context of the Utah War, which is depicted as the result of incendiary reports of corrupt and inept federal officials. The book then introduces the massacre as follows:

“Such a crime as the Mountain Meadows massacre, unjustly attributed by many to the Mormon Church, was not only contrary to Brigham Young’s whole nature, which abhorred bloodshed, but directly at variance with his policy at that particular period” (p. 614). This statement is followed by the book’s assertion that Mormons were, in fact, victims of the massacre.

That massacre was not only a crime against the Arkansas emigrants, but a crime against Utah, against the Latter-day Saints, who have borne for years the odium of a deed for which they were in no way responsible, and which they have never ceased to regard as a public calamity. (pp. 614-615)

In support of this claim, Whitney’s (1892-1904) *History of Utah* cites Bancroft’s (1889) repudiation of the claim that Brigham Young ordered the massacre. It also explains that this claim was the result of Judge John Cradlebaugh’s “vain attempt to fasten the awful crime upon the Mormon leaders” (p. xiv).

Following this introduction, Whitney (1892-1904) and Cannon presented a narrative of the massacre that lacked the ambiguity characterizing Bancroft’s (1889) account. For example, Whitney cast the Arkansas and Missouri emigrants in an unequivocally negative light and affirmed that they taunted and threatened Mormon settlers with violence, and also shot and poisoned local Indians. The authors likewise depicted the Indians as “red men” and “savages” (p. 697) who gathered under their own initiative to exact revenge against the emigrants and steal their horses and cattle. Although Whitney and Cannon acknowledged that John D. Lee accompanied the Indians in the initial attack on the wagon train, the authors also claimed that once Indian blood was spilt in the conflict “no human power could...check their fury” (p. 702). Local militia men who later appeared at the scene to protect the emigrants from the Indians and

help bury the dead “found an angry host of Indians bent on bloodshed, and outnumbering ten to one their own forces. An attempt by the militia to assist the emigrants would have transferred to themselves the Indian attack” (p. 703).

According to this narrative, broader Mormon involvement occurred only after local leaders came to believe the emigrants realized some White Mormons were accomplices to the Indians, and would spread this news if they lived. Thus, John D. Lee and another local Mormon leader, Philip Klingensmith, lured young men from nearby Mormon settlements to participate in the massacre “under military orders” (Whitney, 1892-1904, p. 709). After discussing the killing of the emigrants, the narrative again focuses the reader’s attention on alleged evidence of Indian depravity.

A few men were sent back to the emigrant corral to keep the Indians from plundering the wagons, but the redskins had made quick work of stripping the clothing from the bodies, and were already looting the camp. That night the air was full of the wild bellowings of the cattle and the triumphant shouts of the savages; and here and there along the train the cold, white face of a murdered man or woman looked up into the dark, dumb sky. (pp. 706-707)

Whitney (1892-1904) and Cannon explained Brigham Young’s delay in dealing with the massacre’s perpetrators by explaining that Lee falsely told Young that Indians were solely responsible for the massacre. When Church leaders learned of Lee’s role, he was expelled from the Church, as was local Mormon leader Isaac C. Haight “for failing to restrain him and take prompt action against him” (p. 709). In addition, “Klingensmith, one of the most guilty throughout the whole affair, left the Church soon after the massacre” (p. 709).

Although Whitney (1892-1904) and Cannon possessed hitherto unused source material on Mormon involvement in the massacre (Walker & Turley, 2008), they chose

to reiterate and strengthen the traditional Latter-day Saint narrative that downplayed Mormon culpability. They did this by vilifying the Arkansas and Missouri emigrants, rebutting Bancroft's footnotes that supplied a version of the massacre unfavorable to Mormons, and emphasizing the alleged depravity of bloodthirsty Indians bent on revenge. Thus, as depicted on Figure 5, I interpreted Whitney's *History of Utah* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Gibbs, 1910)

Josiah F. Gibbs published this small booklet through the Salt Lake Tribune Publishing Company, which was established as a voice of dissent against the hegemonic influence of the LDS Church in Utah. On the rear inside cover of *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Gibbs wrote that he “was born and reared in the Mormon Church, and his more than fifty years' experience in Utah, has made him familiar with the System's history, doctrines, policies, and practices from its inception to the present time.” Before writing *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Gibbs ended his membership in the LDS Church and authored *Lights and Shadows of Mormonism* (1909)—an exposé of Mormon polygamy and alleged corruption. In this earlier work, Gibbs mentioned that he became aware of secret details about the Mountain Meadows Massacre when he moved to southern Utah in 1864, seven years after the massacre, and learned that his employer had a cow that had belonged to the Baker-Fancher wagon train. A fellow-employee also informed him of the Mormons' involvement in the massacre, and sang a folk tune that reinforced this assertion (Gibbs, 1909).

In the introduction to *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, Gibbs (1910) set forth the need for his booklet. “Embittered Mormon ‘apostates’ and greedy romancers have distorted the awful incidents,” he wrote, and “Mormon historians and subsidized writers have submerged the truth and endeavored to shift the burthen of the terrible crime to the Indians.” Later in the work, Gibbs indicated that many stories about the massacre were circulating among the people of southern Utah, and “there are scores of young men and women who are now demanding that the truth be told” (p. 55). Through his book “the youth of Utah, and the people of the world, may...learn the basic causes that led up to the Mountain Meadows massacre” (p. 56). Gibbs cited as his source material the transcripts of John D. Lee’s second trial and his acquaintance with the people, culture, and land of southern Utah.

Gibbs began narrating the causes of the massacre under the heading “Doctrine of ‘blood atonement’ and its results” (p. 6). He described the Mormon Reformation as a time of “indescribable fanaticism, frenzy and violence” (p. 8), and suggested the Utah War was not the result of miscommunication, but the fault of Brigham Young’s despotic rule in Utah. He then presented his main premise—that Young issued a proclamation of martial law for the purpose of legitimizing the murder of non-Mormons. Although Gibbs acknowledged documentary evidence indicating Young did not issue a proclamation of martial law until September 15, 1857—four days after the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred—Gibbs asserted that “the date of the proclamation was changed from August to September for the purpose of destroying the plain evidence that the massacre of the emigrants was authorized by the proclamation” (p. 11).

Gibbs continued to explain that local Mormon leaders such as William H. Dame, John Higbee, Philip Klingensmith, and Isaac C. Haight acted under the authority Brigham Young had given them to kill non-Mormons and ordered John D. Lee and other White men to lead the Indians in destroying the wagon train. Gibbs (1910) then elucidated this claim.

There is a popular and widespread impression that John D. Lee was the leader and arch criminal of the massacre. That is not true.... As an abject slave of the Mormon priesthood he was a willing tool of his 'file leader' [Isaac C. Haight] in deeds of violence. (p. 15)

While implicating Brigham Young and local Mormon leaders, Gibbs (1910) discredited the story that the emigrants had poisoned Indians. Instead, he affirmed that Indians had only become involved under prodding from Mormons, who desired the emigrants' destruction as an act of revenge for "the [Mormon] martyrs who perished in Missouri and Illinois" (p. 29). Although Gibbs believed Brigham Young and George A. Smith knew their subordinates in southern Utah were guilty of executing the massacre, he explained that they did not hold participants accountable until it became necessary to protect their own reputations. Once Lee was apprehended by authorities and then acquitted in his first trial, the "wave of indignation that swept over the U.S. convinced the Mormon leaders that at least one Mormon must be sacrificed in the interest of their church" (p. 40).

Josiah Gibbs' (1910) account of the Mountain Meadows Massacre represents an attempt to reverse the standard Mormon narrative prevalent in early 20th century Utah. He rebutted the popular idea that John D. Lee and Indians were responsible for the crime and instead implicated other local Mormon leaders who acted under the direction of Brigham

Young. As shown on Figure 5, I interpreted Gibbs' *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* as presenting White Mormons acting under orders from Brigham Young as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

The Founding of Utah (L. E. Young, 1923)

By authoring this book, Levi Edgar Young fulfilled his promise to write a fuller account of Utah's history if his brief textbook, *Chief Episodes in the History of Utah* (1912), was well-received. *The Founding of Utah* was published by Charles Scribner's Sons, who operated printing houses in New York, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, and San Francisco. Young wrote the book hoping to connect Utah history to the larger fabric of U.S. history.

Our State has passed through all the stages common to American civilization. The story of the development of Utah is a story of the conquest of the soil and the establishing of the institutions of American civilization in this part of the great West. (p. vii)

However, the book was also written as a tribute to Utah's Mormon colonizers.

If the book will suggest the larger elements of our State's history and stimulate a love for the pioneers who accomplished the work of making the valleys of Utah beautiful in their fields of grain and growing cities, it will accomplish its purpose. (p. vii)

Young dedicated the work to his mother, "a pioneer of 1847" (p. v).

The Founding of Utah (L. E. Young, 1923) included a narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a chapter entitled "The Black Hawk War" (p. 284). This chapter describes a number of conflicts between Mormons and Indians, whom he termed "the native Red Men" (p. 267). Young asserted that these conflicts were caused by the Indians' resentment over losing their lands to Whites. This narrative theme repeatedly

surfaces in his recitation of the causes of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The Baker-Fancher party “were attacked by Indians, among whom were some white settlers, and the men, women, and most of the children massacred in a brutal manner” (p. 292). Young explained that “the Indians had noted the coming of the whites, and they naturally resented the encroachment” (p. 292). He continued:

While some of the whites urged the Indians on, and even took part in the massacre, it was an act of lawlessness on the part of individuals. Governor Young at his home, 300 miles away, was informed by messengers from Cedar City of the terrible massacre. (p. 292)

Levi Edgar Young (1923) concluded his narrative by issuing the following disclaimer: “The Mountain Meadows massacre was one of those incidents in our history which we all regret, but in this western land in the early days, the Indians often perpetrated deeds which were terrible and which we wish had never happened” (p. 292).

In terms of ideological intent, *The Founding of Utah* (L. E. Young, 1923) was an apologetic work in behalf of Mormon colonizers. Gary Topping (2003) observed:

When it appeared in 1923, the Mormon Church was still struggling to gain acceptance by the nation at large. Many people still had their doubts about the sincerity and degree of Utah’s “Americanization,” its adoption of a democratic political system, and its abandonment of polygamy. Young’s apparent goal was to create a brief, popularly written history of the state, distributed by a national publisher, that would help lay that skepticism to rest. (pp. 22-23)

Like Bancroft’s (1889) *History of Utah*, which was also published outside of Salt Lake City, *The Founding of Utah* (L. E. Young, 1923) provided LDS leaders with a venue to legitimize their version of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Young’s narrative tempered previous Mormon depictions of Indians as bloodthirsty savages. And, unlike many colonialist writings of this era, *The Founding of Utah* portrayed cattle raiding and

violence as acts of survival for Indians who suffered because of White encroachment upon their homelands (Blackhawk, 2008). Ironically, however, the book portrayed transitory emigrants such as the Baker-Fancher party as guilty of this encroachment rather than the Mormon settlers who occupied Indian lands. This detail, coupled with the book's placement of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a chapter replete with "terrible" Indian deeds that Mormon leaders "wish had never happened" (p. 292), suggests *The Founding of Utah* did little to alter the dominant narrative in Utah perpetuated by Whitney's (1892) *History of Utah*. As illustrated on Figure 5, I interpreted Young's *The Founding of Utah* as presenting Paiute Indians as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some local White Mormons assisting.

Utah and the Nation (Creer, 1929)

Leland Hargrave Creer was among the handful of men who left Utah during the 1920s-30s to obtain doctoral degrees in history and then returned to the state and contributed to the gradual professionalization of Utah historiography (Arrington & Bitton, 1988; Topping, 2003). Creer completed his Ph.D. at Berkley in 1926 and then became a professor of history at the University of Washington, where he published his dissertation entitled *Utah and the Nation*. He moved to the University of Utah in 1937 and remained there until his retirement in 1965 (Topping, 2003).

Creer's purpose in writing *Utah and the Nation* was to study "the relations between the federal government and the people of Utah during the period 1846-1861" (p. vii). He asserted that "while much has been written on Utah history, nearly all writers appear to have been interested primarily in making out a case for or against Mormonism

rather than in presenting an impersonal statement of the facts” (p. vii). Creer relied on the LDS Church archives, papers in the Bancroft Library, and documentary materials of the U.S. Government as his sources.

Utah and the Nation (Creer, 1929) devotes a full chapter to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. This follows three chapters on the Utah War and a chapter on “Federal Indian Policy” (p. 161). Creer explained that in the 1850s Mormons were on better terms with Indians than they were with the U.S. federal government, but denied that this relationship represented a treasonous political alliance against the U.S.: “There is no evidence... that [the Mormon] missionaries attempted deliberately to prejudice the minds of the savages against the Americans” (p. 172). Creer then introduced his narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The most lamentable episode in Utah history is the Mountain Meadows Massacre. It was not only a crime against its immediate victims; it was a crime against the community whose name was thus dragged in the mire and whose people through gross misrepresentation were made to suffer unjustly the odium of a deed which received more publicity and yet has been more unsatisfactorily treated than this tragic event.

Anti-Mormon writers have been determined to fasten the crime upon the Mormon Church or at least upon its leaders; while, on the other hand, Church people who resent this accusation, have been slow to admit all the facts of the case, and unwilling to fix the responsibility for the crime upon those individuals of their own faith who shared in the participation of the tragedy. (p. 192)

In Creer’s (1929) narrative, news of the approaching federal army coupled with the abusive conduct of the Baker-Fancher party caused “savages” and some local White “villainous radicals” to attack the wagon train (p. 205). The narrative does not mention that George A. Smith preached war sermons in southern Utah in the weeks just preceding the massacre, nor does it mention Brigham Young’s war strategy of seeking Utah Indians

as military allies against the federal army. Rather, it speaks of “the moderate policy of Governor Young which might have prevented the massacre” (p. 205) if better means of communication had then existed between Salt Lake City and southern Utah. In detailing the immediate cause of the massacre, Creer explained:

The murder of one of the emigrants by a white man and the knowledge that the company had evidence that white settlers were leagued with the Indians, made it easy for some of the radical leadership, chief among whom was John D. Lee, a fanatic of the worst type, to persuade the whites at Mountain Meadows that the emigrants should be destroyed in order to assure the safety of the settlers.

The unfortunate domination of radical leadership in southern territory made such a tragedy by Indians inevitable and the participation of white men in such a bloody deed possible. (p. 206)

Creer (1929) concluded his narrative by quoting Bancroft’s (1898) assertion that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was the “crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst stamp” (p. 217). He affirmed that “the intention of the white men engaged in the massacre was to place the responsibility for it upon the Indians” (p. 209), and that John D. Lee lied to Brigham Young by denying that any White men were involved. When Young learned of Lee’s guilt, Lee was excommunicated from the LDS Church and eventually paid for his crime when he was executed in 1877.

This narrative reveals a conflicted ideology. Creer (1929) asserted at the outset that past accounts of the Mountain Meadows Massacre had been biased or incomplete, leading the reader to believe that he was prepared to supply a fresh appraisal of the event. However, Creer then proceeded to reiterate the standard hegemonic narrative of the massacre. He echoed Orson F. Whitney’s (1892) claim that the massacre was a crime against the Mormons and defended this claim by ascribing the causes of the Utah War

and the initial siege of the Baker-Fancher train entirely to the poor behavior of non-Mormons. Moreover, he averred that these actions incited the ire of the Indians and some few unnamed radical Whites led by John D. Lee to destroy the wagon train. That the narrative was designed to exculpate Brigham Young is clear from Creer's reference to Bancroft's (1898) statement that the massacre was the crime of an individual. As illustrated on Figure 5, I interpreted Creer's *Utah and the Nation* as presenting local White Mormons and Paiute Indians as equally culpable for the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah (Anderson, 1942)

Nels Anderson (1889-1986) published this work through the University of Chicago Press as a secular history of the Utah Mormons. Anderson converted to Mormonism as a young man while passing through southern Utah, where he boarded with a Latter-day Saint family. He later studied sociology at the University of Chicago and returned to southern Utah in 1934 to collect the data which resulted in the production of *Desert Saints*. Anderson's (1966) purpose was to "tell the story of Mormon settlement" in southern Utah (p. xxi). *Desert Saints* was reprinted in 1966, and eleven years later Latter-day Saint scholars nominated the book as one of the most influential works in the fields of Utah and Mormon studies (Allen, 1987).

Desert Saints (Anderson, 1942) presented a detached, unimpassioned narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Anderson situated the massacre in context of the Utah War, which he characterized as the result of political, religious, and cultural differences

between Mormons and other U.S. citizens. Anderson suggested the Mountain Meadows Massacre could also be traced to conflicts between the Mormon colonists and Arkansas and Missouri emigrants that likewise emerged from these differences. Twice in his narrative Anderson assigned responsibility for the massacre to “Indians and whites” (p. 186), but he also suggested that Latter-day Saints who had knowledge of the massacre sought to minimize the Mormons’ role in the atrocity. He explained, “Church officials did attempt for years to block all investigation, principally because most investigators were not so much interested in the facts as in using the incident to indict Brigham Young” (p. 192).

By examining and comparing U.S. census data from the years 1850 and 1860, Anderson (1942) also provided a fresh insight concerning the massacre.

In 1850 John D. Lee was living at Parowan with two of his wives. His property was valued at \$3,000. In 1860 he was living at Harmony with ten of his wives, and his property was valued at \$49,500, making him several times richer than any other man in southern Utah. There was no way, except by miracle or loot, for any man to gain that much property, since no man on the frontier of that region could gain wealth except by his own labor. Few church leaders in those parts reported more than \$4,000 of property in the census of 1860. (p. 192)

In a later chapter, Anderson (1942) described the eventual arrest, trials, and execution of John D. Lee. He mentioned that LDS Church officials knew of Lee’s guilt, “yet the Mormons did nothing about it, probably for the same reason that a family will not drag one of its own members into court, although they may cast him out of the house” (p. 293).

In analyzing Anderson’s (1942) ideological intent, it appears he was more interested in describing the Mountain Meadows Massacre and its effects on Latter-day

Saints than in creating a narrative to support a definitive assignment of culpability for the crime. Although Anderson clearly implicated John D. Lee and exonerated Brigham Young, he did so without characterizing Lee as a fanatic or a radical. He likewise avoided demeaning language in referring to Utah Indians while suggesting that they were also involved. In these ways, Anderson's narrative varied drastically from those composed by Bancroft (1889), Whitney (1892), and Creer (1929). However, because Anderson did not explicate his general assertion that "Indians and whites" (p. 186) were responsible for the massacre, his narrative ultimately did not develop a new or different theory of culpability beyond what the Mormon hegemonic narratives had previously proposed. Thus, as shown on Figure 5, I interpreted Anderson's *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* as presenting local White Mormons and Paiute Indians as equally culpable for the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Brooks, 1950)

Throughout the latter-half of the 20th century, Juanita Brooks (1898-1989) was considered the principal authority on the Mountain Meadows Massacre (Bagley, 2002a; Topping, 2003; Walker et al., 2008). Brooks (1982) was raised in Bunkerville, Nevada, a Mormon community located approximately eighty miles south of the Mountain Meadows. She completed her undergraduate degree at Brigham Young University and later received a master's degree from Columbia University. In the period between her work on these degrees, Brooks taught school in Mesquite, Nevada. There she became interested in the massacre after meeting a local resident named Nephi Johnson who asked her to record his life story. However, before Brooks pursued this opportunity Johnson

became critically ill. Summoned to the man's deathbed, Brooks (1982) observed: "He prayed, he yelled, he preached, and once his eyes opened wide to the ceiling and he yelled, 'Blood! BLOOD! BLOOD!'" (p. 229). After asking a family member why Johnson thus screamed, Brooks learned that he was present at the Mountain Meadows on the day of the massacre.

Regretting the opportunity she had missed to learn about the massacre from an eye witness, Brooks later began assembling primary source materials concerning the event. She learned that her grandfather, with many other local Mormons, was present at the massacre (Brooks, 1950). Brooks' (1982) discoveries contradicted her prior understanding of the massacre.

I had read and been told our standard story that some emigrants had been massacred at a place called Mountain Meadows, far away from the Mormon settlements, but it was the work of Indians. They were stirred up because some of their number had been killed by these emigrants, and they wanted revenge. A few of our people who lived in the area had tried to restrain the Indians, but were able to save only about seventeen children, who were sent back to their relatives in Missouri. (p. 229)

In 1950, Juanita Brooks published *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* through Stanford University Press. In 1962, the University of Oklahoma Press republished her work and later issued multiple printings of the book. *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* presented a fresh narrative of the atrocity that relied on many previously unused sources. In the book's preface, Brooks (1962) acknowledged that her objective was to rewrite Mormon history: "Since the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred, and especially since the execution of John D. Lee for his part in it, we have tried to blot out the affair from our history. It must not be referred to, much less discussed openly" (p. xix). She affirmed that

the book's purpose was "to present the truth" and then declared, "I feel sure that nothing but the truth can be good enough for the church to which I belong" (p. xx).

Brooks (1962) situated the massacre in context of the depredations Mormon pioneers suffered at the hands of U.S. citizens, the Mormon Reformation, and the Utah War. She also cited George A. Smith's "activity in giving 'military speeches'" (p. 40) in southern Utah in the weeks just preceding the massacre. Brooks suggested this activity, combined with "exaggeration, misrepresentation, ungrounded fears, unreasoning hate, desire for revenge, [and] even lust for the property of the emigrants" (p. 59) directly contributed to the massacre. Unlike other Latter-day Saint authors, Brooks did not entirely excuse Brigham Young from responsibility. She stated that while Brigham Young and George A. Smith "did not specifically order the massacre, they did preach sermons and set up social conditions which made it possible" (p. 219). In addition, Brooks implicated Brigham Young as "accessory after the fact" of the murders, "in that he knew what had happened, and how and why it happened" (p. 219), and yet he ultimately allowed blame for the massacre to be unjustly shouldered by John D. Lee and his Indian allies.

A dominant theme in Brook's (1962) book centers on Lee's role in the massacre and its repercussions. She asserted that after Lee's first trial, LDS Church leaders formed a strategy to place all the responsibility for the massacre on Lee so "they could lift the stigma from the church as a whole" (p. 220). Brooks dedicated twelve pages of her book to defending Lee's character and suggested he was a victim of the circumstances in which he was placed by his leaders. She wrote that Lee's involvement stemmed from orders

given by local officials William H. Dame and Isaac C. Haight, who ordered Lee to gather Indians and “encourage them to attack the [emigrant] company and rob them of their cattle and goods” (p. 77). In further defending Lee, Brooks indiscriminately cited *Mormonism Unveiled* in which Lee shifted responsibility from himself to Indians.

When I reached the camp I found the Indians in a frenzy of excitement. They threatened to kill me unless I agreed to lead them against the emigrants, and help them kill them. They also said they had been told that they could kill the emigrants without danger to themselves...and unless they could kill all the ‘Mericans,’ as they called them, they would declare war against the Mormons and kill every one in the settlements. (p. 78)

In her book, Brooks (1962) referred to Indians as “savages” (p. 94) and “red men” (p. 137). She explained that in spite of their large numbers and intense desire to destroy the wagon train, the Indians were unsuccessful in accomplishing their designs: “The Mormons were brought in later when it became evident that the Indians alone could not commit the crime” (p. 95). However, Brooks concluded that because Mormons encouraged Indians to attack the emigrants in the first place and formulated the plans that culminated in the massacre, “the final responsibility must rest squarely upon the Mormons, William H. Dame as commander, and those under him who helped to form the policy and to carry out the orders” (Brooks, 1962, p. 95).

In his review of *The Mountain Meadows Massacre*, historian Gary Topping (2003) observed that Brooks “applied the critical standards of the professional historian for the first time” to one of “Mormon history’s most sensitive subjects” (p. 333). Brooks’s careful reliance on primary source material and her forthright analysis of those sources allowed her to craft a narrative of the massacre that was more nuanced and sophisticated than any previous explanation. However, Brooks’s reference to previous

accounts of the massacre as “our history” (p. xix) indicates she wrote from a Mormon outlook that excluded concern for Paiute Indians’ perspectives on the massacre (Blackhawk, 2008). She convincingly demonstrated that John D. Lee was but one of many Mormons who were in some way responsible for the massacre, and that local White leaders incited Indian participation. However, as Will Bagley (2002a) noted, “Brooks’s unquestioning acceptance of Lee’s account of the massacre also led her to believe his most ingenious lies—that the Paiutes led the attack, [and] that they had forced his hand” (p. 357). Thus, in her effort to debunk longstanding notions that John D. Lee was primarily responsible for the massacre, Brooks perpetuated another element of the hegemonic narrative that placed undue culpability on Paiute Indians. As depicted on Figure 5, I interpreted Juanita Brooks’ *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* as presenting local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Legend and a Monumental Crime (Wise, 1976)

William Wise published this book through the Thomas Y. Crowell Company. The book’s dust jacket describes Wise as “the versatile author of *Killer Smog*, one of the earliest books on the world’s air pollution crisis, as well as many books for young people.” Wise was not a historian and did not consult primary source material for his book (Bagley, 2002a). While Wise did not include a statement of purpose for the book in a preface or elsewhere, the tenor of the book indicates he believed innocent Americans were murdered at Mountain Meadows and he desired to expose the murderers.

The first two chapters of *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Wise, 1976) provide biographical information about the Baker-Fancher party. Wise asserted that “it was an indisputable fact that the Fancher Train was one of the richest parties ever to set off across the prairies” (p. 11). The following seventeen chapters provide background information about the LDS Church, beginning with its founder Joseph Smith, who invented a religion “that one day would spur his disciples to great pioneering achievements, as well as to crimes so cruel and formidable that they would have to be concealed, at whatever cost, from the rest of the civilized world” (p. 23). According to Wise, the conflicts Mormons experienced in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois resulted from the Mormons’ eccentricities and their belligerent behavior toward other Americans. In time, Mormon leaders established “a theocratic reign of terror which victimized both Gentile and Saint with equal savagery” (p. 30). Wise described the murder of Joseph Smith as “an overwhelming blow” that served to reinforce Mormons’ “already intense hatred of the Gentile world” and cited the journal entry of church member Allen Stout as evidence.

I hope to live to avenge their blood; but if I do not, I will teach my children to never cease to try to avenge their blood, and then teach their children and their children’s children to the fourth generation, as long as there is one descendant of the murderers upon the earth. (p. 66)

Wise’s (1976) portrait of the early history of Mormonism showed a context of extreme violence and “a thirst for bloodshed” on the part of Mormons who believed “members of other societies and faiths were morally inferior beings and therefore had no right to justice, to freedom or even to life itself” (p. 143). As the Baker-Fancher train was arriving in Utah in late July 1857, Brigham Young “was ready to sanction what many

veterans of Nauvoo and Missouri so ardently desired—the long awaited opportunity to exact revenge” (p. 174). Wise paused in his narrative to overtly dispute the hegemonic narrative of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, “Church apologists always have clung to a comforting absurdity—that the Mountain Meadows Massacre was planned independently by one or two minor aberrant Mormon leaders far from Salt Lake City” (p. 175). He claimed that the plan to destroy the wagon train was hatched by Brigham Young in Salt Lake City after Young observed the great wealth he could obtain from the Baker-Fancher party. Wise continued:

Young’s idea was simple enough: let most of the attackers be Indian braves, drawn from tribes loyal to the Church, and let an utterly trustworthy Mormon serve as their leader in the field, after he had assumed the familiar role of ‘white Indian’ by disguising himself in feathers, blankets and red paint. (pp. 179-180)

Wise (1976) asserted that George A. Smith carried Brigham Young’s orders to John D. Lee, “who had been chosen to lead the Indians in the field” (p. 182). After the massacre Lee was forced to pay for the crime with his life, while Brigham Young evaded all responsibility. Wise did not explore the issue of culpability in reference to the Indians who may have participated.

After *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Wise, 1976) was published, an article in the *Ensign*—the official periodical of the LDS Church—noted the book received national publicity (Bitton, 1977). LDS Church historians rebutted Wise’s indictment of Brigham Young by critiquing Wise’s lack of careful scholarship (Arrington, 1977; Bitton, 1977). Will Bagley (2002a), who later authored a work that essentially agreed with Wise’s conclusions, similarly criticized Wise’s work for failing to draw upon key primary sources. Nevertheless, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* reignited general interest in the

massacre and its attendant controversies. In accordance with Wise's main premise, I interpreted his narrative as presenting Mormons acting under orders from Brigham Young as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting. This interpretation is depicted on Figure 5.

The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Allen & Leonard, 1976)

After Leonard Arrington was appointed as LDS Church Historian in 1972, he initiated efforts to modernize and professionalize the church's treatment of its history (Arrington, 1998). As part of this initiative, Arrington appointed two associates in the LDS Historical Department, James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, to author "a compact, introductory overview of Church history" that would acquaint Latter-day Saints with "recent scholarship as well as considerable new material available in the Church Archives" (Allen & Leonard, 1976, p. ix). Allen and Leonard had both earned doctoral degrees in history and were active in the Mormon faith. While the book they produced was not an official publication of the LDS Church, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* was printed by the church owned Deseret Book Company and its title page affirmed it was published in collaboration with the Historical Department of the LDS Church Saints.

Allen and Leonard (1976) addressed the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a chapter entitled "In the National Spotlight, 1856-1863" (p. 295). In developing their narrative, Allen and Leonard placed the massacre in context of the Utah War, which was caused by "the mistaken belief that the Mormons were in rebellion against the government" (p. 298). As federal troops approached Salt Lake City, "an angry band of

Indians and a few overzealous settlers murdered a company of emigrants on their way to California” (p. 303). Allen and Leonard averred that Indians “threatened some of the small communities of the Saints, and the settlers felt themselves risking danger if they acted too openly to restrain the Indians” (pp. 304-305). The authors repeated the claim that the Indians were aroused to anger after some of them were poisoned by the Fancher party. Allen and Leonard (1976) continued:

John D. Lee, who had been working with the Indians as a farmer, was unsuccessful in his efforts to calm his wards and felt threatened himself if they were stopped from raiding the wagon train....

For reasons still not fully known, the local leaders of the militia in southern Utah ordered the destruction of the company, though the Indians were supposed to do most of the work and receive the blame. John D. Lee was not prone to that kind of violence, and he wept bitter tears when he received his orders, but by the morning of September 11 he was somehow convinced that this was what Brigham Young would have wanted. Agreements were made with the Indians, and on that tragic morning Lee and others decoyed the besieged emigrants from their encampment under the promise of protection. At a prearranged signal, both Indians and white militia turned on the company, and 120 people were slain. When some militiamen refused to follow orders, the Indians did the work of destruction for them. (p. 305)

Allen and Leonard’s (1976) narrative concludes by indicating John D. Lee was tried and executed “for his part in the crime, but firm evidence against the others was so hard to develop that they were never brought to justice” (p. 305).

Unlike Mormon narratives of the early 20th century that depicted the Mountain Meadows Massacre as the deed of a single fanatic—John D. Lee—Allen and Leonard’s (1976) narrative clearly followed Juanita Brooks’s (1950) sympathetic interpretation of Lee’s role. However, it also varied from Brooks’s work in significant ways. First, Allen and Leonard did not assert that either Brigham Young or George A. Smith were responsible for creating the conditions that led to the massacre, or in shielding White

massacre participants from justice, as Brooks did. Secondly, Allen and Leonard assigned much greater culpability to the Indians in their narrative, describing the massacre as the outcome of a collaboration between Indians and unnamed local White Mormon Church leaders. Whereas Brooks affirmed local Mormon leaders directed Indians to attack the Baker-Fancher party, Allen and Leonard suggested Mormon leaders may have ordered militia participation to prevent a conflict between Mormons and Indians. As depicted on Figure 5, I interpreted *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* as presenting local White Mormons and Paiute Indians as equally culpable for the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows (Bagley, 2002a)

In 1995, Frank Singer, a California entrepreneur and Mormon convert, placed a help-wanted ad in the *Salt Lake Tribune* (Bagley, 2002b). The ad solicited applicants for a full-time position to research the fate of the Baker-Fancher wagon train. Will Bagley was the only applicant who did not offer “an assurance that Brigham Young had nothing to do with the crime” (Bagley, 2002b, p. 1), and he was hired for the job. Bagley used the research material he gathered for Singer to produce *Blood of the Prophets* (Bagley, 2002b). The book received several awards, including the Western History Association’s prize for the most distinguished book in 2002 on the history of the American West (Western History Association, n.d.). As an independent historian, Bagley has authored numerous other books and articles on various topics. He has described himself as “a heritage Mormon” who is proud of his Latter-day Saint pioneer ancestry, although he has “never believed [the LDS Church’s] theology” (Salamander Society, n.d.).

Bagley (2002a) commenced *Blood of the Prophets* by acknowledging the work of Juanita Brooks, “one of the West’s best and bravest historians” (p. xiii). He added, “This book is not a revision but an extension of Brooks’s labors,” inasmuch as access to new source material provided Bagley “ample reason to take a new look at the subject” (p. xiv). The primary evidence Bagley introduced was a journal entry by Dimick Huntington, who served as an Indian interpreter for Brigham Young. On September 1, 1857, Huntington took part in a meeting in Salt Lake City between Young and 12 Indian leaders—including principal leaders from southern Utah—Kanoosh, Ammon, Tutsegavits, and Youngwuds. Huntington recorded that in this meeting, Young informed the Indian leaders of the approaching federal troops and instructed them to take “all the cattle that had gone to Cal[ifornia] the south route” (Bagley, 2002a, p. 379). Bagley then inferred:

Dimick Huntington’s journal reveals that Young...as Utah’s Indian superintendent and territorial governor...encouraged his Indian allies to attack the Fancher party to make clear to the nation the cost of war with the Mormons. Young had already sent George A. Smith south to make sure local leaders provided the Paiutes with the encouragement and support needed to create a violent incident. (p. 379)

The Mountain Meadows Massacre, therefore, “was not a tragedy but a premeditated criminal act initiated in Great Salt Lake City” (p. 378).

In explaining the motives of Mormon leaders who planned the massacre, Bagley (2002a) suggested that they viewed it as an act of vengeance for the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Parley P. Pratt. Bagley further explained: “Some have tried to dismiss Mountain Meadows as an isolated event, an aberration in the otherwise inspiring history of Utah and Mormonism, but it was much more a fulfillment of [Joseph] Smith’s radical doctrines” and the “culture of violence” Brigham Young forged “from Joseph Smith’s

theology” (p. 378). He continued, “Early Mormonism’s peculiar obsession with blood and vengeance created the society that made the massacre possible if not inevitable” (p. 379). Bagley affirmed that this obsession was manifested through the violence associated with the Mormon Reformation and the “temple ceremony’s Oath of Vengeance” that Brigham Young initiated after Joseph Smith’s death (p. 378).

Although Bagley (2002a) assigned primary responsibility for the massacre to Brigham Young, he also portrayed John D. Lee as a willing accomplice. “Lee fabricated a variety of colorful, dramatic, detailed, and wildly inconsistent justifications of the massacre. He was a compelling storyteller with a brilliant talent for reconfiguring the past to suit the needs of the present, and he had great motivation to do so” (p. xvii). Bagley explained Lee’s role in transferring culpability from Mormon instigators to Paiute Indians.

Lee’s various tales carefully masked his role and that of the Mormons in recruiting the Paiutes and blamed them for attacking the emigrants. By claiming that Indians initiated the assault, Lee was able to shift primary responsibility away from both the LDS church and himself. His painfully detailed story of how the Mormons agreed to slaughter the Arkansans to prevent an Indian war that threatened their own families was developed during Lee’s trial. It subtly revised the original cover story—“The Indians did it”—to one much more acceptable to Lee’s fellow white Americans: “The Indians made us do it.” Virtually every subsequent participant account of the massacre followed Lee’s example and laid the blame on the hapless Paiutes—and, of course, on John D. Lee. Less justifiably, generations of historians generally accepted Lee’s tale, disregarding the Paiutes’ total dependence on their Mormon sponsors and the many contradictions in Lee’s various accounts.” (p. 313)

Near the end of his book, Bagley (2002a) acknowledged several Paiute oral histories averring that Indians had no role in the massacre, but tempered these claims by citing other sources in which some Indians acknowledged they participated under the

direction of White Mormon leadership. He also suggested that most of the participants in the final massacre were Mormons disguised as Indians. Bagley concluded his narrative by affirming that Brigham Young used John D. Lee as a scapegoat to bear full accountability for the massacre. “In trying to protect himself and the men directly responsible for a brutal crime, Brigham Young spun a web of lies that still entangles his church and its leaders” (p. 378). Bagley likewise suggested that LDS Church leaders’ complicity in the massacre undermines the moral fabric of Mormonism and the truth claims of the religion.

As its title suggests, Bagley (2002a) intended *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* to set forth a narrative that attributed primary culpability to Brigham Young. In doing so, Bagley did not minimize the role of other Mormon leaders, such as George A. Smith, William H. Dame, Isaac C. Haight, Philip Klingensmith, or John D. Lee. In addition, Bagley was the first White scholar to cite Paiute Indian sources in his narrative of the massacre. He successfully demonstrated that Paiutes had been unjustifiably blamed for the massacre, but did not erase the possibility that some Indians were involved as participants. As depicted on Figure 5, I interpreted *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* as presenting Mormons acting under orders from Brigham Young as primarily responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre, with some Paiute Indians participating.

American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857 (Denton, 2003)

Sally Denton (2003) descended from Mormon parentage and visited the Mountain

Meadows as a child. After forging a successful career as an investigative reporter, Denton began authoring books “about the subjects that others ignore—from a drug conspiracy in Kentucky to organized crime in Las Vegas” (Denton, n.d.). Desiring to illuminate “the corruption in the Mormon Church” (Denton, n.d.), she published *American Massacre* through Alfred A. Knopf. The book won the Western Heritage Wrangler Award in 2003 and was named “Notable Book” of 2003 by The New York Times (Denton, n.d.).

Denton (2003) traced the causes of the Mountain Meadows Massacre directly to Joseph Smith. She wrote that Smith organized “a secret group of loyalists” called Danites (p. 16). These “assassins” operated under a belief in Smith’s “most divisive and fanatical doctrine,” which Denton averred was “the ritualized form of murder called blood atonement.”

In such a killing of higher purpose, the victim’s blood must be spilled into the earth in order for his spirit to ascend into heaven, the murderer in effect providing the victim with eternal salvation by slitting his throat. There would follow untold numbers of such murders, euphemistically called savings, at the hands of the Danites. Among the first charter members to be personally selected by Joseph Smith for his elite avenging army was John Doyle Lee. (p. 16)

Denton (2003) described the conflict that marked the Mormons’ experiences in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. She explained that after the Mormons arrived in Utah, Brigham Young, a “dictatorial pragmatist” (p. 54), developed a strategy that allowed him to orchestrate violence against his enemies and evade responsibility by blaming the acts on Indians. As primary evidence of this assertion, Denton cited Fielding’s (1993) work on the Gunnison massacre. In 1853, Captain John W. Gunnison of the U.S. Army, six members of his surveying party, and their Mormon guide were murdered in central Utah. The conventional belief among Western historians and Mormon scholars is that the

Gunnison party was murdered by Pahvant Indians as an act of revenge after one of their number was shot by a member of an emigrant wagon train (Bagley, 2002a; Bartlett, 1998; Madsen, 1994). However, Denton contended that the Gunnison massacre occurred under orders from Brigham Young and with the assistance of his Danite assassins.

Reinforcing this backdrop of violence, Denton (2003) described the Utah War and the Mormon Reformation as products of Brigham Young's unchecked power and viciousness. Citing John D. Lee's *Mormonism Unveiled*, she asserted that Young sent George A. Smith to southern Utah to order the destruction of the Baker-Fancher train as an act of vengeance for the murders of Joseph Smith and Parley P. Pratt. She contended that John D. Lee led Mormon Danites disguised as Indians in the attacks on the wagon train. Denton refuted any Paiute involvement, characterizing southern Paiutes as "a notoriously complacent, peaceful, and generally unarmed tribe" (p. 129). In discussing the cover-up following the murders, Denton explained that "the scheme to blame the atrocity on the Indians—even to use the term 'massacre,' one so often associated with Indian barbarity—was indeed conceived, crafted, and disseminated with the characteristic meticulousness for which Brigham Young was famous" (p. 142).

Denton (2003) explained that this cover-up resulted in the further victimization of Paiute Indians. She contended that Paiute oral histories that conceded any Indian involvement in the massacre were contrived by Paiutes who feared that if they did not accept blame for the murders they, too, would be slain by the Mormons. Denton further explained that when Church leaders realized during the trials of John D. Lee "that deflecting blame onto the Indians would no longer carry any credibility" they "turned in

earnest to laying total responsibility on one man: John Doyle Lee” (p. 217).

The ideological intent of *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (Denton, 2003) is straightforward and consistent. Denton clearly blamed Brigham Young for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. In making this case, Denton did not attempt to set forth new historical evidence based on primary source materials, as Will Bagley (2002a) had done. In fact, Denton relied primarily on secondary source material in formulating her conclusions, citing Bagley (2002a), Brooks (1950), Fielding (1993), Gibbs (1910), and Wise (1976). In spite of her dearth of original research, however, Denton offered new interpretations concerning culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. She was the first White author to examine the body of research on the massacre and conclude that Paiute Indians were in no way responsible for the affair. Ironically, Denton disregarded some Paiute oral histories in order to make this assertion. As represented on Figure 5, I interpreted *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* as presenting Mormons as wholly responsible for the massacre, with no Paiute involvement.

Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy (Walker et al., 2008)

This book, published by Oxford University Press, was written by three eminent Latter-day Saint historians: Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, Jr., and Glen M. Leonard. The book jacket identifies Walker as “an independent historian and writer of Latter-day Saint history,” Turley as “Assistant Church Historian for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” and Leonard as “former Director of the LDS Museum of

Church History and Art.” Although the book was widely regarded as the LDS Church’s reaction to the publications of Bagley (2002a) and Denton (2003), its authors affirmed:

We began our book at the end of 2001 with the decision that ours would not be primarily a response to prior historical writing—to the arguments or conclusions of any previous author. Rather, we would take a fresh approach based upon every primary source we could find. (p. x)

Walker and colleagues (2008) searched archives throughout the U.S., as well as the LDS Church’s records, for information concerning the massacre. They wrote that “Church leaders supported our book by providing full and open disclosure” (p. xi).

In its opening pages, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Walker et al., 2008) offers a straightforward statement on culpability for the massacre: “The perpetrators were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, aided by Indians” (p. ix).

The book further describes the massacre as “a complex event in which many people and forces had a role” (p. xv) and explained:

We believe errors were made by U.S. president James Buchanan, Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders, some of the Arkansas emigrants, some Paiutes, and most of all by settlers in southern Utah who set aside principles of their faith to commit an atrocity. (p. xiv)

The book does not immediately disclose what mistakes Brigham Young made with regard to the massacre, but later states that in southern Utah “civil, religious, and military power was dangerously held in the hands of a few” (Walker et al., 2008, p. 128). In addition, it is evident in the book that Brigham Young orchestrated this power structure and engaged in “tough talk about blood atonement and dissenters” during the Mormon Reformation which “helped create a climate of violence in the territory, especially among those who chose to take license from it” (pp. 25-27). It also states that

George A. Smith preached military sermons in southern Utah just before the massacre that would have influenced the attitudes of local leaders such as William Dame, Isaac C. Haight, and John D. Lee.

Although *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Walker et al., 2008) concedes that Brigham Young and George A. Smith made mistakes, it refutes the idea that they ordered or even condoned the massacre. In fact, Walker, Turley, and Leonard directly broached Bagley's (2002a) assertion that Indians attacked the Baker-Fancher party under orders from Brigham Young. They repudiated this claim by citing evidence that the Indian leaders who met with Young in Salt Lake City on September 1 were still in Salt Lake City when Mormon leaders in southern Utah began gathering Paiutes to attack the emigrants. They also cited a statement made by an Indian man who, soon after the massacre, met "a large band of Paiutes who acknowledged their role in the killings" (p. 147) but said they were persuaded to participate by John D. Lee, not Brigham Young.

Walker and colleagues (2008) contended that the Mormons responsible for orchestrating the massacre initially hatched a plan to incite Paiute Indians to assail the train and steal the emigrants' cattle following a verbal conflict between the emigrants and Mormons in Cedar City. The local Mormon authority, Isaac C. Haight, recruited John D. Lee to use his influence with the Indians to execute the plan. Once the plan was set in motion, Haight and others appeared to regret the chain of events they had begun, but ultimately made the decision to carry out the final massacre once they learned that the emigrants likely understood that Mormons were involved in the attacks.

In dealing with the matter of Indian participation, Walker and colleagues (2008)

disclosed that “after the massacre, the story of an attack solely by Indians would be told as a coverup again and again, long after it had any kind of credibility” (p. 144). They discredited the claim that “bloodthirsty ‘savages’ were primarily to blame for the attack on the emigrants, forcing white settlers to participate,” and asserted that “Paiutes would not have attacked the company unless local settlers had stirred them up” (p. 158). In sum, Paiute Indians were “shamelessly used by the white men who lured them to the Meadows” (p. 209). In the book’s appendix, Walker, Turley, and Leonard listed by name Paiutes who may have participated in the massacre according to documentary sources. They also summarized Paiute perspectives of the massacre as follows.

Two major lines of Paiute oral history have developed about participation in the massacre. One line says that no Paiutes participated in the massacre. Although this line may in part be a reaction to white efforts to pin all blame for the massacre on Indians, it also reflects the fact that the vast majority of Paiutes had nothing whatsoever to do with the killings. The second line of Paiute oral history recognizes some Paiute participation. (pp. 265-266)

Massacre at Mountain Meadows (Walker et al., 2008) received an endorsement in the LDS Church’s official periodical, the *Ensign* (Turley, 2007). Given the Latter-day Saint affiliation of its authors, the book’s acknowledgment of Mormon culpability for the massacre is remarkably forthright in comparison to previous Latter-day Saint histories. However, in discussing the undue blame Mormons initially placed on Paiute Indians for the massacre, the book failed to recognize that Mormon leaders knowingly continued to allow this inaccuracy to be perpetuated. And, although the book portrayed the vast majority of Paiutes as victims of these inaccuracies, it did not include Indian perspectives on the massacre and its coverup as spoken by Paiutes themselves. As shown on Figure 5, I interpreted *Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* as portraying local

White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

**Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet
(Turner, 2012)**

John G. Turner is a historian of American religion at George Mason University. Though not a Latter-day Saint, Turner became interested in Mormon history as a result of his studies on Latter-day Saints and conservative politics in the U.S. (Turner, n.d.). Turner found that although several biographies of Brigham Young had been written, new scholarship and access to previously unused source material had become available, and these materials would “permit a much more precise examination of the pivotal events of 1856-1858: the Mormon reformation, the handcart tragedy, the Utah War, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre” (p. viii). Turner recognized the ideological contests that have long surrounded Mormon historiography and noted: “In writing *Pioneer Prophet*, I have sought to avoid the parochialism and polemicism that has been endemic to Mormon history by placing Young more fully within the context of mid-19th century American religion and politics” (p. viii).

Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet (Turner, 2012) depicted the Mountain Meadows Massacre as the most egregious incident in a pattern of conflict that existed between Mormons and non-Mormons in the 1850s. Throughout the Mormon Reformation and the Utah War, Brigham Young set the tone for this conflict as he brashly reacted to events and injudiciously employed threats of violence in his sermons and writings. Although Turner did not supply evidence that Young ordered violence

against others, he furnished examples of how Young's rhetoric set the context for violent acts by Young's followers. He also demonstrated that Young often did not bring perpetrators of extra-legal violence to justice if he believed their intent was to serve the interests of the LDS Church.

In addition to situating his interpretation of the Mountain Meadows Massacre into this pattern of conflict, Turner (2012) discussed the current scholarly debate concerning Brigham Young's complicity in the massacre. He summarized the principal arguments of Bagley (2002a) and Walker, Turley, and Leonard (2008) and concluded:

There is no satisfactory evidence that Young ordered the massacre.... At the same time, Young bears significant responsibility for what took place at Mountain Meadows. Southern Utah leaders had almost certainly received word of Young's decision to no longer discourage Indian attacks on emigrant wagon trains. The new policy may have led local leaders like Haight and Lee to presume that their ecclesiastical superiors would condone the initiation of an ambush.... During the early status of the Utah War Young fomented the hatred and anxiety that make it conceivable for Mormons in southern Utah to slaughter men, women, and children. Young's saber-rattling, militia operations, and Indian policy contributed to the most unusual mass murder in the history of the American West. (p. 280)

Turner (2012) also suggested that Young knew of Mormon complicity soon after the massacre. He reasoned that Young's sense of personal culpability for the massacre led him to shield from justice the local Mormon leaders who were directly liable for the deed. Ultimately, however, Young's desire to deflect responsibility from himself and the church led him to give up John D. Lee for prosecution and capital punishment.

Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet (Turner, 2012) represented an important contribution to the research on the Mountain Meadows Massacre because of its scholarly rigor and its detachment from the polemical debate that largely encompasses Mormon historiography. Turner thoroughly explored Brigham Young's role in the events

surrounding the massacre without stretching the historical evidence. While painting an unflattering portrait of Young and his methods of leadership, Turner maintained that Brigham Young did not order the massacre. As depicted on Figure 5, I interpreted *Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet* as representing local White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre, with some Paiute Indians assisting.

Chapter Summary

Figure 5 illustrates key trends in the historical scholarship on the Mountain Meadows Massacre. All of the dots appearing on the top two lines of the figure represent texts written by historians who portrayed Brigham Young as responsible for the massacre and stated that Paiute Indians either were minimally involved or had no role in the atrocity. Without exception these histories were written by non-Mormons or disaffected Church members including Bagley (2002a), Denton (2003), Gibbs (1910), and Wise (1976). Conversely, the dots on the lower lines of the figure represent accounts authored by Latter-day Saint historians such as Allen and Leonard (1976), Anderson (1942), Creer (1929), Whitney (1892), and Young (1923). These historians acquitted Brigham Young of any responsibility for the massacre and emphasized that Paiute Indians were either primarily responsible, or at least equally culpable, for the crime. Since 1976, no Latter-day Saint historian has repeated these claims. The distance between the dots in the years leading up to 1976 illustrate the wide disparity in the accounts penned by Latter-day Saint loyalists and their critics.

Figure 5 also shows that since 1889, some historians have consistently argued that

local White Mormons were principally responsible for the massacre, although they were assisted by some Paiute Indians. This position has been shared by non-Mormon authors such as Bancroft (1889) and Turner (2012), as well as Latter-day Saints including Brooks (1950) and Walker and colleagues (2008). As Latter-day Saint historians ceased to emphasize Paiute culpability for the massacre, the discrepancy between historical narratives of the massacre receded. In Figure 5, the rising line after 1950 reveals this trend.

In summary, historical scholarship on the Mountain Meadows Massacre mirrors general developments in Mormon historiography. Once dominated by pro and anti-Mormon historical tracts, the field of Mormon historical scholarship since 1950 has produced several studies on the massacre that employed the rigorous methodologies and standards which have come to characterize the New Mormon History (Arrington, 1992, Shipp, 2007). Juanita Brooks' *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950) was the first of these studies. Her pathbreaking work led to sophisticated analyses of the massacre as found in the studies of Bagley (2002a), Walker and colleagues (2008), and Turner (2012). Although historians have yet to arrive at a consensus position concerning who was primarily responsible for the massacre, my analysis of historical scholarship on the Mountain Meadows Massacre indicates the range of conclusions on the subject has narrowed in recent years.

The following chapter includes my findings, their significance, and the conclusion. In presenting my findings I will draw upon the analysis and interpretations of massacre narratives found in Chapters IV-VI. Comparing and contrasting the narratives

in the various data sets ultimately allows me to respond to my primary research question:

What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows

Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's history and social studies curricula?

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS, SIGNIFICANCE, AND CONCLUSION

This study has examined how Utah's public school curricula have portrayed the Mountain Meadows Massacre to the state's schoolchildren. The research problem providing the purpose for this study arises from evidence that curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have changed significantly over time, particularly in how they portray culpability for the massacre. In this study I described, analyzed, and interpreted data from Utah's history and social studies curricula, monument narratives at the Mountain Meadows, LDS Church curricula, Paiute Indian narratives, and scholarly histories in order to answer the following research question: What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula?

In this chapter I discuss my research findings. First, I respond to three ancillary research questions and then attend to the primary research question mentioned above. The answers to the preliminary questions inform my response to the primary research question. Next, I discuss the significance of my research findings. As part of this discussion I respond to two additional ancillary research questions. I then present my conclusion to this study.

Research Findings

First Ancillary Research Question

How have narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's public school

curricula changed over time in the way they portray culpability for the event?

Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have tended to portray culpability for the event in terms of a continuum with White Mormons on one side and Paiute Indians on the other. As indicated in Chapter IV, assertions of culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre have varied significantly in the thirteen Utah history and social studies curricula published between 1908 and 2011 (see Figure 1). Only one of the eight textbooks published before 1999—Whitney’s (1908) *The Making of a State*—presented White Mormons as primarily responsible for the massacre. Four presented Paiute Indians as primarily responsible, two made no mention of the massacre, and one presented Mormons and Paiutes as equally culpable. Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in the first eight textbooks indicate the authors were interested in protecting the reputation of the LDS Church. Five of them explicitly exculpated Brigham Young from responsibility for the massacre. Furthermore, some of these textbooks obscured or repudiated the idea that the massacre occurred as a result of directions from *any* LDS Church official—including local leaders. For example, Whitney incriminated John D. Lee for his role in the massacre but did not reveal that Lee was a local Mormon ecclesiastical and militia leader. Evans indicated in 1933 that the White men involved in the massacre “were acting in their own individual capacity, not by reason of any order, expressed or implicit, from any church man” (p. 149). However, by 1972, Ellsworth acknowledged that “orders were given” by local “Mormon military leaders” (p. 217), although he did not identify who those leaders were.

Holzapfel’s (1999) *Utah: A Journey of Discovery* interrupted the eighty-year

trend in Utah's public school curricula that minimized Mormon culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre—often to the detriment of Paiute Indians. Since 1999 no Utah textbook has portrayed Paiute Indians as bearing primary responsibility for the massacre. The most significant development in the history of curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre was the production in 2009 of the *Utah Indian Curriculum Project*. For the first time Paiute Indians were provided an official venue to declare their history of the massacre, which indicated that Paiutes were in no way involved in the crime.

Second Ancillary Research Question

How have Utah's history and social studies texts changed with regard to how they represent Paiute Indians?

In Utah's first history textbook, Whitney (1908) did not specifically mention Paiute Indians, but described the Indians who assisted John D. Lee in the Mountain Meadows Massacre as "red men" and "savages" (p. 104). These epithets suggest that at the beginning of the 20th century, children in Utah were presented a colonialist perspective of American Indians in the state's public schools (Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004). In contrast to Whitney, L. E. Young (1912) did not actively denigrate Utah Indians, but he did contrast the engineering achievements of the White Mormon settlers with the alleged primitive conditions symbolized by "the Indian wigwam" (p. 51).

Evans' (1933b) *The Story of Utah, The Beehive State* particularly underscored the assertion that Utah Indians were uncivilized, merciless, and violent. He wrote of "the indiscriminating tomahawk in the hand of the Indian" (Evans, 1933b, p. v), and

described arbitrary murder as evidence of “the Indian sense of justice” (p. 145). In addition, Evans described “the natives” as being “explosive as gunpowder” but also “petulant as children” (p. 138). Rather than describing the Mountain Meadows Massacre in its historical context of the Utah War, Evans positioned it in a chapter that focused on Indian depredations. The massacre narrative is prefaced by multiple accounts of alleged Indian violence and is followed by the assertion that such violence was the reason Utah’s Mormon communities needed to be protected by “high, thick walls” (p. 149). These statements underscored the colonialist assumption that White colonizers were generally peaceful and civilized, whereas their indigenous neighbors were ferocious and primitive (Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004). More than any other Utah history or social studies curriculum, Evans’ (1933b) *The Story of Utah, The Beehive State* aligned with Deloria’s (1998) observation that White Americans have tended to characterize “savage Indians...as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national Self” (p. 3).

In *Utah in Her Western Setting*, Hunter (1943) followed Evans’ (1933b) lead in referencing the Mountain Meadows Massacre in a chapter concerned with conflicts between “Indians and Whites” (p. 310) rather than the Utah War. This allowed him to suggest the massacre was but one of a series of acts of Indian violence. However, Hunter also asserted that “in comparing Utah colonial history and that of other American frontiers, there were relatively few Indian uprisings in Utah and comparatively little loss of life and property” (p. 310). However, Hunter’s intent in downplaying Indian violence was not to highlight the natural civility of Utah Indians, but to portray the Mormon

pioneers' alleged skill and refining influence in dealing with the region's indigenous peoples.

In the next textbook he authored, *The Utah Story*, Hunter (1960) completely omitted the Mountain Meadows Massacre and emphasized the friendly and peaceful relations that existed between White Mormons and Utah Indians. While presenting Mormon pioneers as deliverers sent "to feed, teach, educate, civilize, and Christianize the red men" (p. 196), Hunter failed to recognize that Mormons had deprived Indians of land and resources necessary for their survival (Blackhawk, 2008). Although Hunter generally portrayed Indians positively, he did not represent them as morally or culturally equal to the Mormons. The esteem he ascribed to Indians was proportionate to their acceptance of and assimilation into Mormon cultural norms (Ostler, 2004; R. J. C. Young, 2003).

Like previous Utah textbook authors, Buttle (1970) did not specifically mention Paiute Indians, but portrayed Indians as the primary aggressors in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. According to Buttle, Indians forced John D. Lee and other Mormons to participate or become victims of the Indians' wrath. In a different textbook printed two years later, Ellsworth (1972) similarly portrayed Indians in southern Utah as extremely violent and vengeful. In Ellsworth's narrative of the massacre, angry and ruthless Indians are mentioned in each instance of killing before Mormon settlers. In his 1985 textbook, Ellsworth slightly altered this narrative by eliminating the statement that Indians forced Mormons to join them in the massacre by demanding "vengeance on the emigrants or on the settlers" (p. 217). However, the narrative's main premise remained unchanged, and Indians continued to be named ahead of Mormons as the primary instigators of violence.

Holzapel (1999) drastically altered the standard Utah textbook portrayal of Paiute Indians. He was the first to refer to them as *Paiutes*, rather than merely *Indians*. He also characterized Paiutes as “generally peaceful” people who were “coerced” to participate in the Mountain Meadows Massacre by Isaac C. Haight, John D. Lee, “and other members of the [Mormon] militia” (p. 171). Finally, Holzapel suggested White Mormons lied by indicating “that only Paiutes were involved in the massacre” (p. 171).

After this more favorable portrayal of Paiute Indians, the 2002 version of Holzapel’s text partially receded to the traditional narrative by deleting the description of Paiute Indians as “generally peaceful” people who were “coerced” to join the Mormons (Holzapfel, 1999, p. 171). It also added the allegations that “angry Indians attacked the wagon train” and “members of the militia...joined the Paiute men at Mountain Meadows” (Holzapfel, 2002, p. 171). Unfortunately, in my correspondence with Richard Nietzel Holzapel, I was unable to learn who made these changes to the text and why. However, in 2008 the description of “generally peaceful Paiutes” (Holzapfel, 2008, p. 153) enacting a secondary role in the massacre was restored to Holzapel’s narrative.

In 2009, another significant advancement occurred concerning the representation of Paiute Indians in Utah’s history and social studies curricula. The Utah Indian Curriculum Project (2009) was created. This curriculum relates the colonization of Utah from the perspective of the region’s indigenous peoples. Colonists are referred to as non-Indians throughout the curriculum. Paiute Indians and the other indigenous peoples are depicted as the original proprietors of the land, and their suffering is documented as the curriculum describes how the land was wrested from them. In addition, three Paiute

Indians offer their perspectives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in video footage. These individuals indicate that Paiutes were not involved in the massacre, although they have been unfairly blamed for it.

In 2011, Sorensen authored a textbook that presents information on traditional Paiute homelands, worldviews, lifestyle, diet, and customs. He suggested it is possible that Paiute Indians may have assisted Mormons in carrying out the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but also indicated John D. Lee unjustly blamed Paiutes for the atrocity.

In summary, from 1908-1998 Utah's history and social studies curricula portrayed a colonialist perspective of Paiute Indians. Textbooks did not differentiate Paiutes from other Utah Indians. Furthermore, in narrating the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the texts broadly characterized Indians as violent, vengeful, and uncivilized. One textbook—Holzapfel's *Utah, A Journey of Discovery*, briefly disrupted this trend in 1999 by specifically referencing Paiute Indians and describing them as "generally peaceful" (p. 171). Although the description of Paiutes as peaceful was erased from Holzapfel's narrative in the years 2002-2007, it was restored in 2008. That same year, the Utah Indian Curriculum Project was produced. Through this curriculum, Paiute Indians were afforded the opportunity of self-representation in Utah's public school classrooms for the first time. Finally, a textbook published in 2011 by Sorensen described traditional Paiute culture in a respectful manner, although the book contained no statements from Paiutes themselves.

Throughout Utah's history and social studies curricula, the manner in which Paiute Indians have been depicted is linked to the way texts portray culpability for the

Mountain Meadows Massacre. On one hand, curricula that emphasized Paiute culpability portrayed Indians disparagingly. Conversely, curricula that stressed Mormon culpability tended to represent Paiute Indians in a much more favorable manner.

Third Ancillary Research Question

How does culpability for the massacre in public school curricular narratives compare to culpability as portrayed in the following sources: monument narratives, LDS curricular narratives, Paiute Indian narratives, and historical scholarship?

As discussed in Chapter IV and depicted in Figure 1, public school curricula before 1999 generally focused culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre on Paiute Indians and John D. Lee. Since 1999, school curricula have largely emphasized that Mormons either were primarily or solely responsible for the massacre. In this study I examined narratives on monuments at the Mountain Meadows, LDS curricular narratives, Paiute Indian narratives, and historical scholarship to provide additional data to explain the changes in the portrayal of culpability in public school curricula.

Figure 6 shows a scatterplot displaying a data point for each narrative I analyzed as part of this study. In this figure I did not differentiate between the various data sources from which the narratives were derived. The LOESS curve in this figure illustrates that according to the sample of narratives I included in this study, culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre increasingly has been attributed to White Mormons since approximately 1980. This suggests that Utah curricular narratives of the massacre accord with the general trend attributing greater culpability to Mormons.

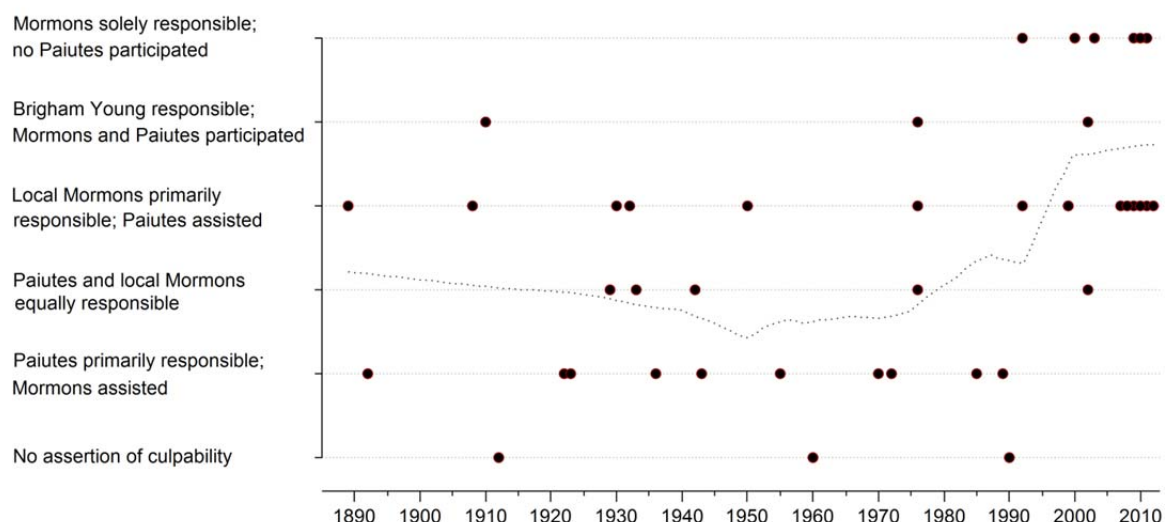


Figure 6. Composite of all data sources without differentiation.

The scatterplot in Figure 7 also displays a data point for each narrative I analyzed as part of this study. However, in this figure I have included LOESS curves for each of the different data sets, with the exception of monument narratives (because of their small quantity). This figure is particularly helpful because it facilitates analysis of trends among the five data sets. Moving left to right, the figure portrays how narratives from each of the data sets have in recent years attributed a greater measure of culpability to White Mormons. Paiute Indian narratives, represented by the green LOESS curve, illustrate the starkest example of this trend. Historical scholarship, represented in blue, has displayed a much more gradual shift toward this tendency. Figure 7 vividly reveals the relationship between Utah's public school curricular narratives of the massacre (depicted in black), and LDS Church curricular narratives (depicted in red). Until just recently, these two data sources have followed almost precisely the same trajectory, suggesting the hegemonic status of Latter-day Saints in Utah society. The departure from the pattern occurred in

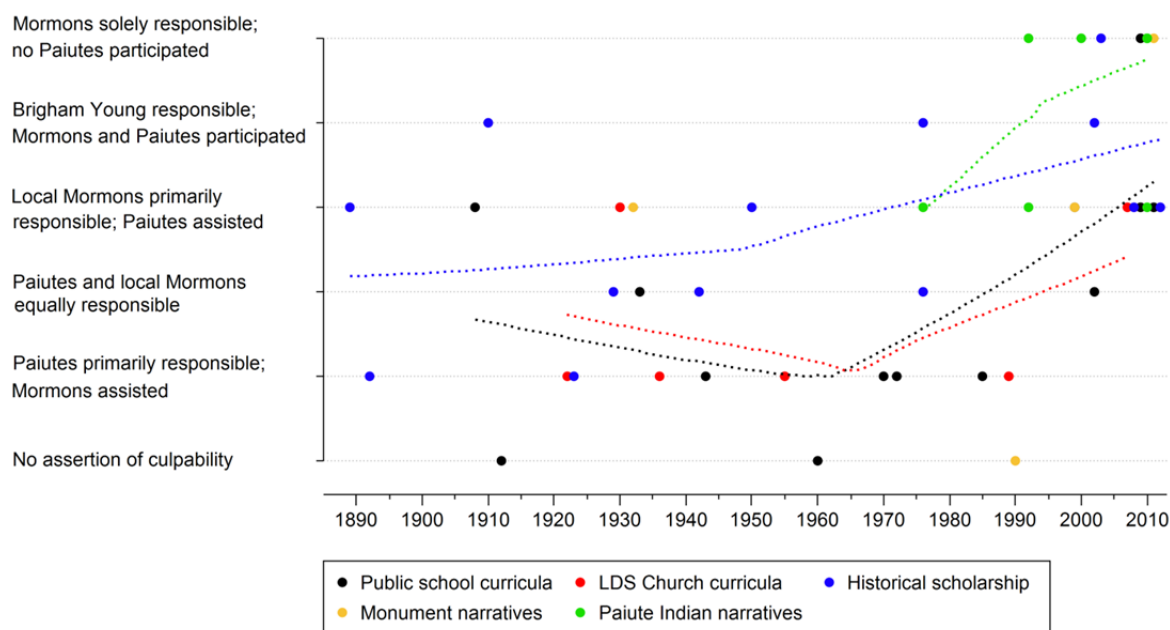


Figure 7. Composite of all data sources with differentiation.

2009 with the introduction of the Utah Indian Curriculum Project, which portrayed White Mormons as solely responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

Principal Research Question

What factors have contributed to changes over time in how the Mountain Meadows Massacre has been portrayed in Utah's public school curricula?

An adequate response to this question requires tracing trends in public school curricular narratives of the massacre to their origins. Since 1889, there have been two dominant narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah, both of which were endorsed at some point by the state's socially and culturally hegemonic institution—the LDS church. The first narrative can be traced to George A. Smith's official report of the massacre, recorded in a letter to Brigham Young on August 17, 1858. It clearly blamed

Indians for the massacre, but intimated that John D. Lee and some other White Mormons somehow may have been involved.

The second dominant narrative can be traced to Charles W. Penrose's 1884 public address on the massacre. Penrose's purpose was to repudiate the claim in John D. Lee's (1877) bestselling memoir, *Mormonism Unveiled*, that Brigham Young ordered the massacre. Penrose defended Young by asserting that John D. Lee of his own volition incited Indians to attack the Baker-Fancher train and commit the massacre. According to this account, some local White Mormons under Lee's influence also participated in the atrocity. This narrative gained momentum 5 years later when Latter-day Saint leaders printed Penrose's address in pamphlet form for widespread distribution, and when Hubert Howe Bancroft (1889) essentially adopted Penrose's (1889) narrative the same year in his popular *History of Utah*. An abbreviated version of Penrose's narrative subsequently appeared in Utah's first history textbook, Whitney's (1908) *The Making of a State*.

Just three years after Bancroft (1889) published his *History of Utah*, Latter-day Saint leaders issued the first volume of Whitney's (1892) *History of Utah*. This book conceded that John D. Lee joined Indians attacking the wagon train, but represented Indians as the leading perpetrators. It thus reiterated the original Latter-day Saint narrative that downplayed Mormon culpability by vilifying the Arkansas and Missouri emigrants, rebutting Bancroft's footnotes that supplied a version of the massacre unfavorable to Mormons, and emphasizing the alleged depravity of bloodthirsty Indians bent on revenge.

Thus, following the publication of Whitney's (1892) *History of Utah*, a degree of

ambiguity accompanied Latter-day Saints' views of the event. This ambiguity is apparent in subsequent scholarly histories (Anderson, 1942; Creer, 1929) and a public school textbook (Evans, 1933b) that attributed equal culpability to local White Mormons and Paiute Indians. These texts were also united in condemning John D. Lee for his alleged role in the massacre. The general inclination to single out John D. Lee likewise was evident on the 1932 monument at the Mountain Meadows (Brooks, 1962).

From the 1910s until the advent of Juanita Brook's influence in the 1950s, general interest in and awareness of the massacre in Utah apparently waned. Edward L. Lyman, a Latter-day Saint who "was raised within 130 miles of the Mountain Meadows Massacre site" during the middle decades of the 20th century, wrote in *Mormon Historical Studies*: "Many of us grew to maturity—even reading the seminary and institute-adopted versions of our history—and never even heard of the event which has been almost universally mentioned (without accurate details) outside of Mormondom" (p. 61). Lyman (2010) further reported that he "never heard of the tragedy until [he] was almost twenty-one years old while serving an LDS mission in California" (p. 84).

The publication of Juanita Brooks' *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* in 1950 not only remedied the "selective amnesia" (Hoerl, 2012, p. 178) that had begun to take hold with regard to the massacre's place in Utah history, but also contested both of the dominant Latter-day Saint narratives that suggested Mormon involvement was limited to John D. Lee and a few unnamed White associates. For example, Brooks (1962) criticized Creer (1929) for failing "to make any positive conclusion relative to the responsibility for the massacre,' as though he...might be slow to admit all he knew" (p. 217). More

significantly, she openly chastised Joseph Fielding Smith (1922) and his classic, widely used text, *Essentials in Church History*.

Smith devotes one chapter to the massacre, in which, without mentioning names, he can hardly find language strong enough or words vigorous enough to condemn the participants. He quotes one footnote, and one only—Bancroft's statement that it "was the crime of an individual, the crime of a fanatic of the worst stamp." Yet in the collections of the historian's office of the Latter-day Saints church, records of which he is the custodian, there is ample evidence that this was definitely not the crime of a single individual, nor the responsibility of only one man. Even the most superficial research would show the utter ridiculousness of such a statement. (Brooks, 1962, p. 217)

In the preface to her book, Brooks (1962) acknowledged that her objective was to rewrite Mormon history: "Since the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred, and especially since the execution of John D. Lee for his part in it, we have tried to blot out the affair from our history. It must not be referred to, much less discussed openly" (p. xix). She affirmed that the book's purpose was "to present the truth" and then declared, "I feel sure that nothing but the truth can be good enough for the church to which I belong" (p. xx).

Unlike other Latter-day Saint authors, Brooks did not entirely excuse Brigham Young and George A. Smith from responsibility. She wrote that although these leaders "did not specifically order the massacre, they did preach sermons and set up social conditions which made it possible" (p. 219). In addition, Brooks implicated Brigham Young as "accessory after the fact" of the murders, "in that he knew what had happened, and how and why it happened" (p. 219), and yet he ultimately allowed full blame for the massacre to be unjustly shouldered by only one Latter-day Saint, John D. Lee. According to Brooks (1962), Lee's involvement stemmed from orders given by local officials

William H. Dame and Isaac C. Haight, who ordered Lee to gather Indians and “encourage them to attack the [emigrant] company and rob them of their cattle and goods” (p. 77).

Latter-day Saint leaders in Salt Lake City initially reacted to Brooks’ work with “stolid silence” (Peterson, 2002, p. 238). One of those leaders, Milton R. Hunter (1960), penned the first Utah history textbook for use in the public schools after *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Brooks, 1950) was published. This textbook, *The Utah Story*, entirely avoided the subject of the massacre.

However, in the decades after Brooks’ research was published, evidence emerged suggesting it was slowly gaining acceptance in Utah. First, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* appeared for sale in Deseret Book, the LDS Church’s bookstore chain. Then, in 1974, Brooks was invited to make an appearance at one of the stores to autograph copies of her book (Peterson, 2002). A setback in the book’s acceptance occurred two years later when Ezra Taft Benson (1976) warned Brigham Young University students and faculty of writings “which would tarnish our own Church history and its leaders,” and then denounced “one writer” who accused Brigham Young “of being ‘an accessory after the fact’ to the infamous Mountain Meadows Massacre incident.” However, the following year the church’s official magazine, *The Ensign*, published a book review criticizing William Wise’s *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (1976) and suggested that those who sought a “balanced appraisal of the Mountain Meadows Massacre” might “rely on the thorough treatment by Juanita Brooks” (Bitton, 1977, p. 57). By 1985, Brooks’ *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* had sold some 18,000 copies and had come to be

considered “an indisputable Mormon classic” (Peterson, 2002, p. 236). Twenty years later, Greg Prince and Robert Wright observed that *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Brooks, 1950) “remains a classic of Western American history, is still in print today after over a half-century, and is widely considered to be one of the foundational works of the New Mormon History” (p. 53).

Described by her biographer as “an inside dissenter” (Peterson, 2002, p. 215), Brooks aptly fits the profile of a scholar who, by possessing an “outsider/within” cultural perspective (Collins, 2000), succeeds in altering mainstream knowledge by contesting widely held myths and misconceptions (Banks, 2002). Banks observed that such scholars effect important change by producing and disseminating transformative knowledge, or “knowledge that challenges the status quo and the dominant paradigms and explanations within a society” (p. 22). Brooks’ influence is evident in Utah textbooks beginning in 1970. From that point on, textbook authors ceased to spotlight John D. Lee as a lone fanatic and renegade among southern Utah Mormons and cautiously began to disperse culpability for the Mountain Meadows Massacre among local Latter-day Saint leaders.

Although Brooks (1950) contributed important knowledge that changed the way Utah textbooks portrayed Mormon culpability for the massacre, she unwittingly set in motion a separate change that increased the blame curricular narratives assigned to Paiute Indians. In her defense of John D. Lee, Brooks indiscriminately cited *Mormonism Unveiled* (Lee, 1877) in which Lee shifted responsibility from himself by claiming that Indians forced his involvement after their initial attack on the wagon train was repelled. Although Brooks placed ultimate responsibility with local Mormon leaders for inciting

Indians to attack the wagon train in the first place, textbook authors from 1970-1985 omitted this detail from their narratives and popularized the idea that all Mormons involved in the massacre were forced to participate by Indians. This trend, following the appearance of Brook's (1950) book, reveals the general apprehension that existed among Latter-day Saints to assign broader culpability for the massacre among their revered forbears, the Mormon pioneers. Textbook authors (Buttle, 1970; Ellsworth, 1972, 1985) displayed this reticence by forcefully renewing the claim that Indians were principally responsible for the massacre, and by perpetrating stereotypes of Indians as vengeful, violent, and uncivilized (Blackhawk, 2008; Ostler, 2004).

Allegations that Paiute Indians were primarily responsible for the massacre persisted in Utah textbooks until 1999, when Holzapfel described Paiutes as "peaceful" people whom local White Mormons "coerced" (p. 171) to participate in the massacre. This sudden change in the trend of textbook narratives can be partially explained by gradual developments in the scholarly community of which Holzapfel was part. The years leading up to the publication of this text witnessed the growing influence of the New Mormon History (Rischin, 1969; Walker et al., 2001), which called for Latter-day Saint historians to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about our past," including "the failures as well as the achievements, the weaknesses as well as the strengths, the individual derelictions as well as the heroism and self-sacrifice" (Arrington, 1992, p. 10). As the New Mormon History gained momentum in the 1980s and 90s, so did the influence of one of its founding works—*The Mountain Meadows Massacre* by Juanita Brooks (1950). Consequently, a growing number of Latter-day Saints came to

accept Brooks' primary conclusion that neither Indians nor John D. Lee, but rather a group of Mormon leaders in southern Utah, bore primary responsibility for the massacre.

During this time, some leaders in the LDS Church, including church president Gordon B. Hinckley, also began to embrace aspects of the New Mormon History. Hinckley supported efforts to facilitate reconciliation among descendants of the parties involved in the massacre. He also authorized church funds to help with the repair of the 1990 monument and the construction of the 1999 monument at the Mountain Meadows (MMA, n.d.). Like Holzapfel's groundbreaking textbook, the 1999 monument indicated that Mormons "acting on orders from their local religious leaders and military commanders" were responsible for the massacre, with Paiute Indians playing a secondary role (MMA, n.d.).

The retraction of Holzapfel's (1999) benign description of Paiute Indians during the years 2002-2007 is difficult to explain. Without knowing who made the decision to alter the textbook's narrative to once again attribute greater blame to Paiute Indians, I would surmise that it involved persons concerned for the reputation of the LDS Church and the way its leaders and members are portrayed to Utah's schoolchildren. The changes to Holzapfel's 1999 narrative occurred in 2002, the same year Will Bagley published his influential history attributing culpability for the massacre to Brigham Young. Bagley (2002a) frankly suggested that Latter-day Saint leaders' alleged complicity in the massacre undermined the truth claims of the Mormon faith. His work was followed by Sally Denton's (2003) best-selling book and a Hollywood film, *September Dawn* (Duthie & Cain, 2007), both of which advanced the same conclusions as Bagley. Therefore, it is

possible that Utah's public school curriculum was altered by persons who viewed Bagley's and Denton's assertions as a threat to the religious faith of the majority of the state's schoolchildren.

In 2008, Holzapfel's original narrative was essentially reinstated. The following year, the Utah Indian Curriculum Project was produced, attributing full accountability for the massacre to White Mormons. The production of this curriculum can be explained by the literature in multicultural theory which suggests that curriculum changes as society changes (Nash et al, 1997). Demographic shifts can alter the makeup of hegemonic populations. The state of Utah was experiencing such change when the Utah Indian Curriculum Project (2009) was issued. In 2008, the *Deseret News* reported that "the Mormon population of Utah continues to get smaller." The article continued:

Mormons now make up 60.4 percent of the state's population. That's down from 60.7 percent last year.

The percentage has declined every year for nearly two decades and if the trend continues Mormons will make up less than half of Utah's population by 2030. ("LDS population of Utah declining," 2008)

The *Deseret News* further reported that in Salt Lake County—the location of the entities that created The Utah Indian Curriculum Project—"Mormons are barely holding onto their majority, making up 50.6 percent of the population" ("LDS population of Utah declining," 2008). This demographic change in Utah, which is gradually mitigating Latter-day Saint social and cultural influence in the state, may have contributed to the advancement of a narrative attributing full blame for the Mountain Meadows Massacre to White Mormons.

Yet, it seems the declining percentage of Latter-day Saints in Utah would be

insufficient by itself to produce the inclusion of Paiute Indian voices in the state's public school curriculum. In 2009, the total population of Utah stood at roughly 2.7 million people (Google Public Data, 2012). Sixty percent of that figure indicates that about 1.6 million Latter-day Saints lived in Utah at that time. By contrast, in 2006 "the total number of tribal members among the five Paiute bands in Utah was 840" (Utah American Indian Digital Archive, 2008). Given the disparity in the size of these two populations, an additional factor likely contributed to the elevation of Paiute narratives to become part of the "official" version of historical events (Apple, 2000) conveyed through Utah's public school curriculum.

The literature of multicultural theory suggests that curriculum change may reflect not only a change in demographics, but social and cultural change as well (Buchanan, 1996). Over time, people may evaluate and modify their ideological commitments, assumptions, and values (Eisner, 2002; Schiro, 2008). This is reflected in the general changes in public school curricula in the decades following the civil rights movement of the 1960s. U.S. history textbooks gradually ceased to perpetuate blatant racial stereotypes of Black Americans and American Indians, and then began to incorporate positive portrayals of these peoples in the curriculum (Garcia & Tanner, 1985; Hughes, 2007; Loewen, 1996; Sanchez, 2007).

Changes in Utah's history and social studies curricula—culminating in the production of *The Utah Indian Curriculum Project* (2009)—may be viewed as a prime example of this general trend. The existence of this curriculum suggests that at least a contingency of Utahns, regardless of whether or not they are affiliated with the LDS

Church, have come to value and promote the idea that schoolchildren should have opportunities to learn not only from those who may constitute the dominant population or numerical majority in the state, but also from persons whose voices traditionally have been marginalized or muted (Banks, 2002; Camicia, 2007; Parker, 2010). In 2010, LDS Church Historian Marlin K. Jensen (2011) endorsed this practice by calling for the inclusion of the perspectives of Utah Indians in the state's history and social studies curricula and asking that these perspectives be valued equally with the narratives of Mormon pioneers.

I feel it our duty now...to work until the rest of the story becomes an integral part of *the* story; until [Indian leaders] Sagwitch, Wakara, Washakie, and Little Soldier take their appropriate places in Utah's history books alongside [Mormon leaders] Brigham, Heber, and Parley; until Utah's history includes Indian history and July 24th commemorates everyone's contribution to our state's unique past. (p. 24)

In summary, the factors contributing to changes in narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah's public school curricula include the following.

1. Ambiguity resulting from differing narratives endorsed by the state's socially and culturally predominant institution, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
2. Juanita Brooks' production of transformative knowledge concerning culpability for the massacre.
3. The gradual dissemination of Juanita Brooks' research and acceptance of it by a growing number of Latter-day Saints in Utah, including LDS Church leaders.
4. Demographic change in Utah mitigating Latter-day Saint social and cultural influence in the state.
5. Utah's adoption of the nation-wide trend in U.S. history and social studies

curricula to ameliorate portrayals of traditionally marginalized populations and to include their perspectives.

Significance of this Study

Fourth Ancillary Research Question

Based on the findings of this study, how have Utah's history and social studies curricula demonstrated concern for the aims of either social transmission or social transformation?

History and social studies curricula designed to accomplish social transmission seek to perpetuate “the dominant social norms, customs, beliefs, and institutions” within a society (Parker, 2010, p. 7; Stanley, 2010). In contrast, curricula designed for social transformation promote change in society to bring about greater political, educational, and economic equality (Stanley, 2010). In the U.S., history and social studies curricula have traditionally served the purposes of social transmission (Parker, 2010). Textbooks have conventionally emphasized a grand narrative of freedom and progress with the purpose of unifying the public in a national identity (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Nash et al., 1997).

Utah's history and social studies curricula written in the first decades of the 20th century adopted the grand narrative of the U.S. mentioned above. Textbook authors portrayed the Mormon colonization of Utah as part of the gradual westward expansion of the U.S. (Evans, 1933b; Hunter, 1942, 1960; Whitney, 1908; Young, 1912). By espousing the grand narrative of the U.S., which traditionally has omitted the

perspectives of minority groups, Utah textbooks consequently inherited the tendency to view American Indians as “obstacles to progress” and “problems to be solved” (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 178). In addition, the early writers of Utah textbooks articulated a separate grand narrative unique to Utah textbooks. As LDS Church leaders and historians, they sought to inculcate the state’s youth with a sense of devotion and loyalty for the Mormon pioneers. The LDS authorship of these state sanctioned textbooks evidences the extensive influence Latter-day Saints held in Utah society in the first half of the 20th century (Apple, 1979; Nash et al., 1997). Moreover, the use of words such as “we” (Young, 1912, p. 51) and “our” (Hunter, 1960, p. 231) in these textbooks was inclusive of Latter-day Saints, but dismissed non-Mormons and Indians as “others” who occupied a diminished status in Utah (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Said, 1978).

From 1970-1985, Utah textbooks claimed in their opening pages to be more inclusive and aimed to provide the history of all the people of the state (Buttle, 1970; Ellsworth, 1972, 1985). However, this claim was often thwarted in the books’ contents—particularly in narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre that perpetuated traditional Mormon accounts of the event to the exclusion of others. Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre provide poignant evidence of the proclivity of Utah’s public school curriculum to transmit dominant beliefs, values, and interpretations (Parker, 2010; Stanley, 2010). For example, after Juanita Brooks (1950) proffered an alternative narrative of the massacre, it took twenty years for the state’s curriculum to adopt her contention that Mormon culpability for the incident should go beyond blaming John D. Lee (Buttle, 1970). Forty-nine years passed before a state-issued curriculum espoused her

contention that local Mormons, not Indians, were primarily responsible for the massacre (Holzapfel, 1999). Ultimately, just over a century passed between the time when Utah's first history schoolbook was published (Whitney, 1908) and the time when Paiute Indians were given the opportunity to recount their version of the massacre (The Utah Indian Curriculum Project, 2009).

Textbooks published in 2008 and 2011 demonstrated a more nuanced and pluralistic historiography than previous curricula by acknowledging that some scholars have disagreed in their interpretations of the massacre. Significantly, however, Paiute narratives to this date have not been included in any Utah history or social studies textbook. The Utah Indian Curriculum Project (2009) is an online resource. Given that textbooks traditionally convey a society's prevailing beliefs and values (Evans, 2010), inclusion of Paiute narratives in future textbooks would signal an even greater effort to produce a truly transformative curriculum.

Fifth Ancillary Research Question

What implications can be drawn from this study concerning influences on history and social studies curricula in general?

This study confirms the observations of curriculum theorists who have commented on the formidable relationship between hegemony and curriculum in society (Apple, 1979; Banks, 2002; Eisner, 2002). The study particularly illustrates the potency of historical narratives articulated and promoted by those who occupy places of power. Moreover, this research corroborates Banks' statement that scholars can introduce transformative knowledge to change dominant assumptions and explanations, although

general acceptance of such knowledge may require decades. Due to the increasingly pluralistic make-up of the U.S. in general, and the state of Utah in particular, coalitions of like-minded citizens may be necessary to advocate for curricula that is inclusive of all populations within a society.

Implications for Further Research

This is the first critical study of Utah's history and social studies curricula of which I am aware, but it indicates the state's curricula represent a productive field for future research. Given Utah's dynamic demographic and cultural makeup, as well as the ways narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre have evolved over the past 150 years, it would be fascinating to replicate this study a decade from now to further probe the relationship between hegemony and curriculum in Utah society. In addition, it is important to acknowledge that the findings of this study are necessarily limited by the data sources I chose to analyze. Whereas I focused on the possible effects that historical scholarship published in books has had on curricular narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, additional research could be conducted using data sources such as publications in scholarly journals, or narratives of the massacre found in popular media outlets such as film, television, dramatic productions, and general interest periodicals. Future research could also compare and contrast curricular and monument narratives found in Utah with those located in Arkansas, where the Baker-Fancher wagon train originated.

Aside from additional studies focused on the topic of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, further analysis of Utah's history and social studies textbooks and online

curricula could examine the broader relationship between White Mormon colonists and Utah Indians; representations of Utah Indian tribes in addition to the Paiutes; depictions of conflicts such as the Walker War and the Blackhawk War; evidence of political, social, cultural, or religious values and assumptions embedded in Utah's public school curricula; and efforts of Utah citizens to contest those values and assumptions. In fact, any of these topics could provide helpful readings for the Common Core State Standards Initiative.

The key points in English Language Arts standards indicate that students "are expected to build knowledge, gain insights, explore possibilities, and gain perspectives" (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2012). Students can achieve these outcomes by conducting research, evaluating information, and presenting their findings (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2012). Exposing students to varying perspectives concerning the interrelations between Utah Indians and 19th century colonizers represents an effective means of accomplishing the Common Core standards mentioned above while also distilling within students an understanding of history as a complex and imperfect construction of the past rather than a mere recitation of dates and facts (Nash et al., 1997).

Chapter Summary

Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre typically have portrayed culpability for the event in terms of a continuum with White Mormons on one side and Paiute Indians on the other. Prior to 1999, curricular narratives of the massacre generally depicted Utah Indians as primarily responsible for the atrocity. Corresponding to these

depictions, Utah textbooks used throughout most of the 20th century also represented Indians as violent, vengeful, and uncivilized. These characterizations were mitigated in textbooks between 1999 and 2011. During this time curricular narratives also began to attribute greater culpability for the massacre to White Mormons. In addition, Paiute Indians in 2009 were provided their first opportunity for self-representation in Utah's public school curricula.

The trend in Utah's public school curricula indicating greater Mormon culpability for the massacre over time was also reflected in monument narratives at the Mountain Meadows, LDS Church curricular narratives, Paiute Indian narratives, and scholarly histories of the massacre. Factors leading to changes in the public school curricular narratives of the massacre included the production, dissemination, and acceptance of transformative knowledge challenging the hegemonic narratives, and demographic and social changes that have gradually occurred in Utah.

Based on the findings of this study, Utah's history and social studies curricula written before 1999 were clearly designed to achieve social transmission rather than transformation. However, recent curricula are altering this trend, particularly the Utah Indian Curriculum Project issued in 2009. This study confirms the validity of literature on Multicultural theory that explains how curricula change over time. It also suggests that Utah's history and social studies curricula are a fertile subject for future study.

Conclusion to the Study

The Mountain Meadows Massacre is widely considered to be the most violent and

controversial event in Utah's history. This study indicates that in recent years the state's public school curricula have made progress in representing the event with greater accuracy and sensitivity. In 2009, the voices of Paiute Indians were included in Utah's curriculum for the first time. Yet some Latter-day Saints and Paiute Indians have articulated desires for additional and ongoing progress (Hebner, 2010; Jensen, 2011). For example, Gary Tom, Education Director for the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah and a leading scholar in Paiute history, commented on the Mountain Meadows Massacre and observed, "there's still a lot of anger about it on both sides" (Hebner, 2010). But he also expressed hope for the future.

It will be interesting over the next ten years, what can, should, and will happen.... I see lots of potential, lots of good leaders today. I've seen a good bend in the road for my people in the last five years. Let's keep that dancer dancing. (p. 45)

The findings of this study substantiate that hope. If current trends continue, future public school curricula in Utah will further amplify and clarify the historical record and provide additional avenues of self-representation for Paiute Indians. However, this study also illustrates the slow rate of change common to public school curricula. Like physical matter, conventional curricular narratives seem to operate according to the principle of inertia—once set in motion they persist until altered by some external force. Consequently, change is more of a process than an event in the evolution of history.

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APPENDIX

Coding Sheet Used for Data Analysis of All Texts

Description of the text

- 1) Form, title, and publication date of the text:
- 2) Location and other significant information regarding the publisher:
- 3) Author and biographical information:
- 4) Author's stated purpose for the text (in the preface or introduction):
- 5) Intended audience:
- 6) Sources or citations:
- 7) Use/adoption of the text:
- 8) What the text communicates/narrative details included or excluded:
 - a) Ratio of pages dedicated to the Mountain Meadows Massacre in relation to the total pages of text.
 - b) Heading—how is the massacre situated contextually?
 - c) Commentary on persecution of Latter-day Saints prior to 1847. If mentioned, what purpose does it serve?
 - d) Commentary on the murders of Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and Parley P. Pratt.
 - e) Commentary on the Mormon reformation, blood atonement rhetoric, and vigilantism in Utah:
 - f) Commentary on the Utah war—description and causes (U.S. government or Mormons primarily at fault?):
 - g) Commentary on Mormon/Paiute relations:
 - h) Commentary on Brigham Young's dispatch of George A. Smith. What was the purpose?
 - i) Character portrayal of the Baker-Fancher train.
 - j) Commentary on disputes over sale of grain; insults to Mormon settlers.
 - k) Commentary on the poisoned spring—who is responsible?
 - l) Character portrayal of Paiute Indians, including revenge for the poisoned spring.
 - m) Identity and character of Mormon settlers. Was the massacre an ecclesiastical or militia operation? Who was involved, who is named, and what relationships of power exist among them?
 - n) Commentary on the physical distance from Salt Lake City; ride of James Haslem.
 - o) Commentary on the position and role of Brigham Young.
 - p) Commentary on accountability for the massacre. Is there an explicit

assignment of culpability for the massacre? Was justice served to the perpetrators?

- q) Do images appear with the narrative? How do the images align with the narrative's assignment of culpability?

Analysis of the text

- 1) What is the interrelationship of the textual components described above in terms of assigning culpability for the massacre?
- 2) To what extent does the narrative seek to justify the massacre?

Interpretation of the text

- 1) Ranking on the culpability matrix designed for this study:
- 2) Evidence of the effect of this text:

Additional Notes:

CURRICULUM VITAE

CASEY W. OLSON

Academic Degrees

- Ph.D. Utah State University, 2013, Education—Curriculum and Instruction
- M.A. Brigham Young University, 2007, Religious Education
- B.A. Brigham Young University, 2000, Humanities/English
- A.A. Ricks College, 1997, General Studies

Professional Experience

- 2010-present Writer/designer, Curriculum Services, LDS Seminaries and Institutes
- 2013-present Online Instructor, Brigham Young University--Idaho
- 2000-2010 Seminary Instructor, LDS Church Educational System
- 2000 Intern, U.S. Capitol Historical Society, Washington, D.C.

Related Experience

- 2012 Presenter: How We Got to This “Moment”: What History Has to Teach Us About the Creation of Mormonism's Public Image. “Mormon Moment(s) and the Media” Symposium, Brigham Young University.
- 2012 Presenter. Brigham Young University—Idaho, Education Week.
- 2012 Presenter: The Savior's Teachings on Discipleship during His Final Trek to Jerusalem. Seminaries and Institutes Scripture Forum Broadcast.
- 2011 Presenter: The Evolution of History: Changing Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in Utah’s History and Social Studies Curricula. Western Social Sciences Association.

Publications

- 2012 The Savior's Teachings on Discipleship during His Final Trek to Jerusalem. *Religious Educator: Perspectives on the Restored Gospel*, 13(3).

- 2011 *A Liar from the Beginning. Religious Educator: Perspectives on the Restored Gospel*, 12(3).
- 2007 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in National Periodicals: 1991–2000. (Master’s thesis, Brigham Young University).